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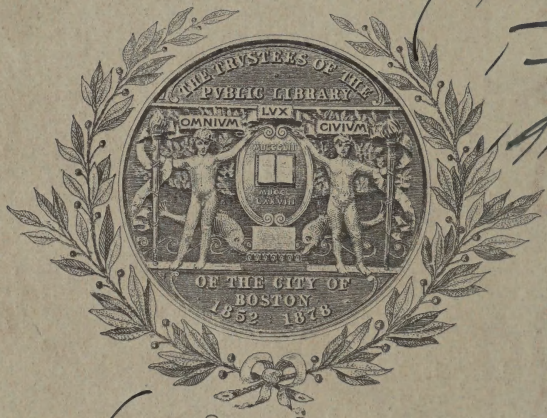

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PUBLIC SERVICE ADDRESSES

SERIES 1919-1920 - - - - - No. 1

"THE HUMAN COSTS OF THE WAR"

* 3560a.179
no. 1-11

Address delivered by

Lieutenant-Colonel Homer Folks

Under the Auspices of the

EDUCATIONAL DEP'T OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT

Philadelphia, Pa.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

1919/20 - 1921/22

ADDRESS

Delivered by

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HOMER FOLKS

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"THE HUMAN COSTS OF THE WAR"

Under the auspices of the

MUNICIPAL COURT EDUCATIONAL DEP'T

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Homer Folks was Lieutenant-Colonel in the American Red Cross and Director of the Department of Civil Affairs of the American Red Cross in France, Chief of the Red Cross Survey Mission in Italy, Greece, Serbia, Belgium and France. "The Human Costs of the War," an address delivered Friday, October 10, 1919, in Room 676, City Hall, is based on his book published by Harper Brothers.

Mr. Folks is a leader in the field of public service; former President of the New York State Probation Commission; former Commissioner of Public Charities in New York City; organizer of Public Relief in Cuba under General Wood, etc.; and Author of "The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children."

In introducing Lieutenant-Colonel Folks, Honorable Charles L. Brown, President Judge of the Municipal Court, said:

We are gathered here today to hear an inspiring message from a great leader in public service, and we are fortunate, indeed, to have Colonel Folks here to inaugurate for us the series of addresses which we purpose to give on matters concerning the public service and the public welfare. These addresses we thought should be for the benefit of our staff alone, and that is a very large one. I feel, however, that we should let the community have the benefit of the inspiration that the talks of the men and women who are leading authorities in the field of public service will bring us. Therefore, we have extended the invitations to men and women of this community whose co-operation make such real work as the big work of our Municipal Court possible. We are going to bring here to these meetings to address you, people who will help you, who are in the social service of the Court, and you who are in other fields of public and private social service. They will bring new vision, new hope and new suggestions and guidance for our work.

I wish to say a word on other plans we have for our own workers. Through the co-operation of public-spirited citizens, it has become possible for us to provide certain of you who are in the service of our Court, with the opportunity for work at the Pennsylvania School for Social Service, so that you may increase our potentiality for service to the public. I say you have the privilege of taking these courses, but I also want to say that I appreciate your helpfulness and willingness to undertake this effort, which means extra time and extra labor. I desire to thank you for responding so wholeheartedly to my plans for training for public service. I am only sorry that circumstances prevent more than ten of you from undertaking this work. I know those of you who are going will not be disappointed in the trouble your efforts will give you.

We will try to have these public meetings once or twice a month. On November 7th, Miss Maude E. Miner, Director of

the Girls' Protective Leagues and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Probation Association, will speak on Probation Work with Women and Girls. On November 14th, Doctor Charles A. Beard, Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York City, under whose direction is conducted the Training School for Public Service, will speak on "Training for Public Service." Mr. Burdette G. Lewis, Commissioner of Correction of the State of New Jersey, will address us on December 12th.

These meetings are open to all who may be interested. I hope that through them we, of the Municipal Court, will be able to make our contribution to a better understanding of the problems of the public aspects of social service. These are, indeed, the times that try men's souls; and it is only by the constant effort to arrive at a better and a deeper understanding of our tasks that we can be helpful to each other.

Colonel Folks is our speaker today. He came to our city to preside at the National Tuberculosis Conference and we are especially privileged to have him address us. To our Municipal Court he stands as a symbol. He is a pioneer in probation work. I believe he outlined the organization of the first State Probation Commission, that of New York, of which he is now President. His interest, among his many interests, has always been in children. He is the author of a book which is a standard for workers with children, "The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children." I think that our staff, and all those interested in children, should read that book. Colonel Folks has had an experience in France which is bound —by the greatness of his duties in a great world crisis—to carry inspiration to all working in social service or to those interested in it. It was his duty to help relieve the distress of the suffering civilians in France. He was Director of the Department of Civil Affairs of the American Red Cross in France, Chief of the Red Cross Survey Mission in Italy, Greece, Serbia, Belgium and France. He is embodying his experience in a book, which Harper Brothers will publish and which will appear serially in Harper's Magazine. It is the highest privilege to have Colonel Folks address us upon "Human Costs of the War," an address based upon that book.

Allow me to present Colonel Folks.

ADDRESS

Judge Brown, Probation Officers and Social Workers of Philadelphia:

Before entering upon my real subject, I must delay a moment to express my gratification at the fact that this opportunity for training and this series of talks on matters of social welfare are being made available for the probation officers of the Municipal Court. I am not sure that my acceptance was not due to my sense of the unusual character of the occasion.

It is a very exceptional thing that Judge Brown and his colleagues have done. I have known of courses of training for probation officers arranged by themselves, or arranged by a State Commission, but in no previous instance have I known the court itself to foresee the need and actually plan for such opportunities for those important arms of the court, the probation officers.

In doing this Judge Brown has done a service to the cause of probation throughout the entire country, and I am sure that his example will be followed in other cities.

I confess that I consented to appear in court with a great nervousness, perhaps apprehension, but since I have had a good look at the jury, I feel reassured and I feel reasonably confident that I shall, at least, secure disagreement if not an actual acquittal at the end of the proceedings.

I shall speak to you for a time on substantially the question of human welfare in Europe as affected by the war. I speak of Europe for two reasons: in the first place, because I must, I have to. Anyone who has seen and participated in the work of relief from the sufferings caused by the war in Europe, and who has caught even a glimpse of the true condition of the peoples of Europe today, must inevitably feel that the most useful thing that he can do is to try to give some expression to those facts which are so little understood, and perhaps can be so little understood, by those who have not actually seen them at first hand. Secondly, I speak of Europe, and of the opposite of

human welfare in Europe, because I am disposed to think that we, as social workers or probation officers, or persons interested in human welfare in America, can do nothing to steady our perspective and give us a point of view of what the world is and needs, more properly than to become a bit more informed and to think a little bit more about the actual, present conditions of the people of Europe.

Social work involves a sort of an ideal on our part. As social workers we are all doing what we can to see that men, women and children all have a chance to live happy and useful lives, not cut short by sickness and death, and not deprived of fruition by causes beyond their control. There has never been anything in the history of the world which has in such a wholesale way had an opposite effect on so many people as the war.

I will begin with the point which we appreciate perhaps more readily, because we have seen something of them,—the effects of the mobilization of the armies. Probation officers, relief workers and Red Cross members, have some appreciation of the problems of human need and changed human circumstances that are involved in the mobilization of an army. The tremendous home service of the Red Cross is just one of the things that had to be done to carry relief and aid and assistance to families from which the men had been called to serve their country. We mobilized in America something like four million men, and that mobilization disarranged our entire industrial life, upset a great many things that we had thought were permanently arranged, and made an extraordinary demand upon all our relief and social agencies and workers.

Let me call your attention to the extreme degree to which those problems existed in the European countries, our allies and our friends. In the first place, the mobilization of the men of those countries was several times greater than ours was at its greatest. France had a population a little more than a third of that of the United States. She mobilized somewhere between six and seven millions of men. If we had mobilized a corresponding number in proportion to our population we should have called together an army, not of four million, but of something like twenty millions of men, and the interference with the normal life of the community and of families would have been more than five times as great, because we selected the younger

men, and preferably the men without families or dependents, whereas in France every man between eighteen and fifty, who was physically fit, unless he was the father of five children living, was mobilized. Some of them were, of course, retained to work in the necessary industries, to run the transportation, work the mines, keep the munition factories going, but practically every man fit to be a soldier was enrolled in the army in France; so that the interference with the productive life of the country and with the relations between fathers and children was a good deal more than five times as great as was that of the United States.

The second striking fact is that it is the custom in European countries to pay their soldiers a very nominal sum. They serve their country as a matter of duty, not as a matter of employment. A soldier in France—and this is practically true of the European countries outside of England—was paid the equivalent in our money of five cents a day when at the front, and two or three cents a day when assigned to service in the rear. There is no question of allotments and allowances from soldiers' wages for the assistance of their families in the European countries. As a matter of fact, the support afforded their families by these men was simply dropped, with nothing to take its place, for an appreciable period of time. Afterward an allowance was made by the Government to families of soldiers, an allowance which amounted to about the equivalent of 25 cents per day for an adult and less than that for children, an allowance which, when made, would cover the cost of food, leaving practically nothing else for other expenditures, but which, with the rise of prices, would hardly even buy the necessary food for those who were compelled to buy their food.

The third difference between ourselves and European countries as to mobilization, is that while our men were mobilized for a year or a year and a half, or varying periods of about that length, the soldiers of France and of those other countries were mobilized for a period of four years and a half. Europe was a continent of manless homes during that time. The Judge of your Juvenile Court knows what it means to have the men all away and away for some time. We all know that delinquency is apt to arise. The father of the household is more than the support. He is the steadying factor. His place in

the household is always supreme and nothing takes his place, even if there were an allowance that made up the actual financial deficit. The absence of practically all the men for a period of four years and a half was bound to be followed by social results of the most far-reaching and most disastrous character, as they were.

The next result of war, of course, after mobilization is fighting. We all think of that when we think of war. We see the clash of the armies on the field and we hear the shrieks of the wounded, and in our imagination we see the men who died on the field of battle. We have felt it in our own localities. I said to a neighbor of mine, a few days after my return, whom I happened to meet on the street, "I hope your boys are back from France by this time?" He turned away and he said, "All that are coming back. One is not coming back." I had two other friends in my little home town who lost their boys in France. It seemed to me quite a number in my little circle of acquaintances. I picked up the graduating class publication of the High School of Yonkers, and on the first page, in a black border, there were the pictures of the boys who would have graduated that year, but did not and never will. They graduated to another world. There were seventeen of them out of that small group. It seemed to me we had an extraordinary number of deaths in our little town. I read in the evening paper shortly afterwards the proceedings of a memorial meeting, with a list of the Yonkers boys that died, and it filled about three-fourths of a column. I was perfectly astounded at the number. It never occurred to me that out of a total of 50,000 deaths of American boys there would be so many in a town of 100,000 people. I made a little calculation to see what would be the average quota, so to speak, for a place of 100,000 people, and one mathematical operation showed that it would be about 45. It dawned on me for the first time after my absence that from a community in America of the size of 100,000 people the average was some 45 of their boys who would not return, a number which would really cast a shadow of gloom and of mourning and of sorrow over all American communities. Then I thought, what would it be if we had been in the war as long and as deeply as those European countries? Specifically, I thought of France, where on every street in every city, and

every day, one of the most conspicuous things you see is the widow's black veil. France, with about a third of our population, lost about a million and three-quarters of men, including actual deaths known and registered, and most of the nearly 300,000 of the missing will never return, to say nothing of the deaths among the prisoners. A little mathematical calculation showed me that if we had lost as many in proportion, we would have lost about seven and a half millions of men,—something like that, speaking from memory. At any rate, it was ninety-five times the number in proportion to population so that our little town of Yonkers, if it had lost its boys and its men—because they were of ages up to 50—in the same proportion that France lost her boys and her men, would not be mourning forty-five or fifty boys, it would be mourning 4,300 in that community of 100,000 people.

That, perhaps, gives us a little better impression of France, of Serbia, largely of Italy, and, to some extent, of Belgium. We simply cannot understand the extent to which those countries are permeated and soaked through and through with the strain of sorrow and loss and suffering and grief for the men and boys that have gone. The actual number of deaths among the Allied soldiers is over seven and a half millions, to say nothing of the missing, and the number of men killed by the war in Europe is certainly in excess of ten millions. That creates a problem of social hardship, in widowhood, in orphanage, the proportions of which stagger our imagination, the effects of which will last for decades. Not probably until the opening of the next century will there be no one who can look back and say, "How different life might have been for me if I had not lost my father in the great war."

But that question of loss, of widowhood, of the orphans, of the soldiers who died, and the million—or whatever the number is, for it is more than a million—of permanent cripples, are things we all know about in a way, the first things we think about when we think about war. There are other phases that are less well known, but perhaps are even more significant and distressful for the future of the peoples of Europe. When an army comes into a country, a foreign army—and it was with a wonderfully deep understanding of the nature of war that Germany planned to carry on war in the other countries' territory—

when an army rolls in, there are civilians there of course. The army comes there unexpected and very rapidly, and you have to do one of two things, to run and leave, or to go down in the cellar and wait until it goes by. There were four million and a half of people in the part of France that Germany overran. A million and a half of them ran, and three millions went down to the cellars. I want to trace just a little further just what happened to those people and the people similarly placed all through the other countries, from the North Sea all the way up through and around into Russia. You have all read of the people who went away, the refugees. I know that you have all seen the pictures of them streaming down the roads of France, taking up one or two or three things that they thought most of or thought most valuable, tying them up in a package and just walking away as fast and as far as they could walk, to keep ahead of the incoming army, and finally reaching a railway, being packed like animals in cattle cars, crowded in as closely as they could possibly be crowded, and taken into the interior for one, two, three or four days; stopped at sidings to let other trains go by, with no protection from the cold weather to speak of, and then arriving. That is the part we have all read about, the people driven from their homes with a few moments' notice in that way.

But the real claim on our sympathy arises from what happened to them after that. That is the real thing. We could travel three or four days, if we had to, under uncomfortable circumstances and get along. We don't expect to sleep very well when we travel, ordinarily, and our meals are interrupted and we do not have a very comfortable time as a rule. But when this million and a half of people got to where they were going, that was when the real trouble began, because nobody was expecting them there excepting for a day or two or even an hour or two before they came. There was nowhere for them to go. People were already living in all the houses. There was nothing for them to do, no extra work to be done. Everything was disorganized by the war. There was no comfortable place to go to live. There was no additional furniture to buy, there was no additional wood and hardly enough food to go around. It was five or ten per cent. of the original population of those communities just thrown upon them. Suppose you

had in Philadelphia here another ten per cent. of people dumped down upon you without any notice, or not, perhaps, more than twenty hours' notice, what would you do with them? Suppose it was winter time? Well, they went into churches, they slept on the floors in the aisles, they went into the stables, from which the horses had been taken for the army. They would go into an empty factory that had been closed because of the war—any old place at all, and hardly anybody thought of having more than one room for a family. These were people who had lived comfortably, mind you. They were not unsuccessful people, they were all the people—educated and uneducated, workers and professionals, and they all had to crowd up and they were all lucky if they did not have more than one family in a room. A large room like this would probably be used by hanging some burlap on strings or wires, and dividing the room into little squares about ten feet square. Each of those little squares was a home for a family,—the mother and grandmother, an old grandfather, perhaps, and some young boys and girls of all ages and a baby or two. Each little square was a home for a family. There was not much, if any, coal to be had. You could not dream of getting enough to keep warm. You might get enough to cook with if you were clever. There was almost no kerosene or oil to be had and they lived in darkness and damp, cold and gloom, in unemployment and insufficient income. They had no money to buy clothes if their clothes wore out. They did not have hardly any bedding with them, and there was hardly any more to buy. They had a wretched time. They got sick, but the doctors were all called to the army. They never had any trained nurses anywhere in France. There were no doctors to look after them. Then was the real trouble. People helped, of course, and the Government gave them an allowance to buy food with after a little while, and the Red Cross set up a distributing agency bye and bye towards the very end of the war, when they got around to it. But there, a million and a half of people who had been refugees and exiles from home, crowded into any old place. They lived that way for four years. There is the hard part—for four years. There is a test of your vitality to stand up against all those things that break down your health and

resourcefulness. For four years, not four days,—four years of exile under those conditions.

How many were there of them? A million and a half I said was the number in France in 1914 and half a million more came along in the spring of 1918. That is two million people in France. That is only a beginning of refugees. There were refugees from Belgium to the number of about a million; in Italy half a million; in Greece several hundred thousands; in Serbia I don't know how many, but there were thousands and thousands and thousands of them. All through Rumania, Russia and Austria there were refugees from the front. When the Russians invaded it, half a million Germans were driven out of east Prussia. There were ten or twelve million people, at least, living in the way I have just described, all the standards simply knocked to pieces, all the ways they had learned how to live through these centuries, to be cleanly, to be decent and educate their children, all their standards were knocked into smithereens, and they were living in any way they could to get along for a period of four and a half years.

You cannot do that without breaking down for a long time to come the standard of living, of welfare, of that enormous number of people. The war ended and they began to go back, ten million people, to their homes. I wish I had time to describe to you what they found when they got back, and what they did. They went back to the devastated areas, as we say. You have seen pictures of that until you are sick and tired of "devastated areas." But these people had to see the devastated areas from the inside, not from the outside. They went there to live. That was where they came from. Those were their homes. They went back and had to dig in the cellar to see whether there was an archway still standing; if there was, they would get a few bits of furniture and make their home in the cellar. I recall on my last visit to the city of Lens, the coal mining city, there were only a few streets you could go on at all. You would think there was nobody there at all, but if your automobile happened to blow its horn, they would begin to come up out of the ground here and there among these ruins, from places you could not see were occupied by anybody. It was very pathetic, but it was very curious. You could not help thinking of the way woodchucks pop up out of their holes in

the fields of clover. Think what it means. Those ten million people are living under conditions that are as much worse now than when they were in exile, as those conditions were worse than those they originally came from. They were darker, colder and gloomier, damp and underground, and it will be twenty years before they are rebuilt. All the statements you read about this, that and the other place being rebuilt this year or next year,—put them down as absolutely not so. About all that has been accomplished really in all that area is to clear away barbed wire and clear up some of the streets, get some of the railroads running, get the canal opened up—a few things like that. There has been no beginning at actually rebuilding the peoples' houses. There are a few wooden barracks. A barracks is a thing you and I would not think good enough for a cow stable, because it is just an affair of boards roughly put together. But a barracks is the ideal of a house. It is the best even for the Mayor, the head of the town. A few barracks in a city of ten thousand people, for the very select people of the town, that is the very best you find; otherwise you find bits of old building paper and a few stakes, and so on, stuck up together in any kind of shape for a shelter. The people will live there through the winter to come and nobody knows how long after that.

I want to go back a moment to another phase. You have heard much less about it even than the refugees. The three million people who went down cellar when the storm passed by, when the tornado of war swept overhead, of course did not stay down cellar very long. It was maybe for a day or two, and then they came up. They were the conservatives. I suppose the radicals that were willing to try anything went away, but the conservatives stayed down in the cellar and came up. They came up in a changed world. They were under the control of an army of an enemy country. They hadn't any rights any more. They couldn't be sure of keeping anything they had. Whatever the other fellow wanted he took. If he wanted to live in a house he moved in, and made the people in the house take care of him. He was likely to take the products of their work. They were subject to all the shortages that the blockade placed upon the Central Powers (which finally brought them to terms), only it was worse. They suffered all the blockade

effects plus the fact that their things were taken away from them by the enemy to send back to the people at home when they began to be short. As the smoke clears away a little bit and we look over the situation, they seem to have suffered most of all. The people who went away got away from the war. The people who stayed, stayed under the control of this army of the enemy, and when you come to look over what happened you see that after all the effects of the shortage of food were more serious upon them than upon the people who went off into the interior.

The largest city in France that was occupied was Lille. The population of Lille was reduced to one-half of what it had been during the war. That was partly because the soldiers went away. It was considerably because people died. They died because they did not have enough to eat. That was the long and short of it. They always had, of course, something to eat. They did not starve to death, as we would say, in a famine, but they starved to death virtually, they died of something else first. They died of tuberculosis, they died of diseases of childhood, if they were children, and so on. There were half as many people in Lille when the war ended as when it began. The tuberculosis death rate was multiplied by two. The number of children born was one-eighth of what it had been before for the same period of time, and the proportion of deaths among those that were born was substantially greater than it was before. That is a pretty black picture of the occupied territory and the occupied territory was a great deal bigger in terms of numbers than the number of the refugees. Just run your mind over that. There were six million Belgians in occupied territory. There were three million French, there were four and a half millions of Serbians, there were a million Italians, there were five and three-quarter millions of Rumanians, there were twenty-two million Russians in territory occupied by Germans, a total of forty-two million people who lived under occupation by an enemy army and suffered all those hardships of oppression and repression and lack of food in the taking away of their supplies and clothing and fuel and all. Their mode of living was reduced to about the lowest consistent with living at all.

That is only a start, really, of the hardships that the war brought to the peoples of Europe, because the shortage of food during the latter part of the war applied not only to the blockaded territory, but it applied to many of the Allied countries, Italy and Greece, and those countries in the south of Europe, though they were not behind the blockade, actually experienced a shortage of food. That increased sickness and death among them and they came actually in sight of hunger. That is, the whole people, the whole 33,000,000 of Italy actually suffered a lack of sufficient food. You only have to look at them to recognize that fact, but it is indisputable when you look at the figures of what happened. I must speak for a minute or two more to show that all through that part of the world the diseases that have been slowly brought under some degree of control absolutely broke loose. All that has been done in the way of prevention of disease practically disappeared. People could not afford health work and they were too busy to think about it. Tuberculosis, which had been reduced about forty per cent. in Italy, shot up twenty-five per cent. in two years. Malaria, which was on the way to disappearance, jumped back to where it was twenty-two years ago. Typhoid fever increased all over the country, because of the people camping out of doors. The typhus epidemic of Serbia was a direct result of the crowding of those people in houses and lack of opportunity for cleanliness. A peculiar fact is that the louse always seems to enlist with the soldier. The talk and jokes and slang of the soldier were about the cootie, to a very considerable degree, but it is no joke because if there is typhus fever, the cootie carries it from one man to the next. The epidemic that cost 150,000 Serbian lives was a war epidemic of typhus. The "flu" itself we don't know all about, but we know that it came at the same time as the greatest strain of all. We know that it had been hibernating, as it were, in some area back in eastern Europe, where Russia joins Asia, and that after being quiescent there for a good while, it broke loose. Then this going back and forth of soldiers and refugees and everybody in every direction all the time spread it all over the world with a rapidity that has never been known before. The deaths from the "flu" which we know a great deal about in this country must be put down as due, in a very considerable degree, not wholly very

likely, but as being chargeable, to a substantial extent, to the fact of war. Italy lost about three times as many people from the "flu" as we did, in proportion to our population. Take Serbia, which, before the war, had a population of 5,000,000 people. It was growing at the rate of about 90,000 a year. They cannot bother to keep vital statistics in wartime, but the general agreement of a good many people who have studied the subject, by the Austrians while they were there and by the Serbians, and by the English, and by the Americans who worked there, is that, as a net result of all these things, Serbia not only lost all her normal growth, but actually lost a fifth of her entire population as it stood at the beginning of the war, coming to the end of the war with 4,000,000 people instead of 5,000,000 as she began it.

I must speak just a second of one other thing, one of the strange things you must think about a little while before you get the full bearing of it, and that is the tremendous reduction of the birth rate in those countries. It is not necessarily a good thing to have too many people in the world, so far as I know, but a differential reduction in the birth rate may be a very bad thing. It was a very bad thing that France's population stood stationary for the last forty years at about forty million, while Germany's went on from thirty-eight or thirty-nine to sixty-four millions. That was a very bad thing for the peace and future of the world. With extraordinary uniformity, with extraordinary evenness, the birth rate of those countries in which the war occurred fell until it was fifty per cent., or in Serbia apparently much less than fifty per cent. of what it had been. So that in the number of people who will enter the schools of the future, there will be a great hiatus when you come to the ages that would have been born in the years 1915 to 1919. A very curious thing is that it was true of Belgium, as well as of France and Italy, and in Belgium it was not because the men were in the army or out of the country. It was something about these bad standards of living and depression, being under the enemy army; the lack of food, of clothing and of shelter. The babies would just simply not be born. The actual shortage of births already in Europe among the white peoples in the world who are to carry the white man's burden, is about ten million in number, and to the extent that it is due to the

lower standards of living, shortage of income, bad housing and the like, it will go on in some degree for we don't know how long. Looking backward years from now, in the great contest that may arise between the peoples of the world, it may well be that that reduction in the number of effective members of the white race, already ten millions in number, besides the deaths in the war itself, may prove to have been the most serious result of the many serious results of the great war.

That is a terrible picture, but it is a true picture. It is a picture which, perhaps, only those who have been accustomed to work in the various fields of human welfare would thoroughly understand. You could travel all over Europe and not see it. You would have to study it. You would have to examine into the underlying facts. The people of Europe do not know it. The people of Italy, with few exceptions, do not know it, do not know to what extent they lost. They just know they are in a bad way. Only those accustomed to deal with the statistics of lives and births and deaths and disease, of poverty and sickness, see the extent to which this terrible calamity rests upon the people of Europe.

We can do a little about it. I wish we could do more. We can, at least, look facts in the face. We can be patient and sympathetic with people who have gone through such stress and suffering as we have not come in sight of. We can make allowances for the bitternesses and skepticisms and pessimisms that are bound to exist all through Europe. We can refrain from doing anything that in any way would lead them to feel that America is not interested in Europe, that when our soldiers said good-bye to France we, as a nation, said good-bye to Europe. We cannot do that, we cannot be onlookers, spectators. We have got to stand by our Allies in Europe in spirit, in sympathy, in understanding, until the wounds of the war are healed. (Applause.)

Judge Brown: On behalf of this gathering, and for myself, I want to thank Colonel Folks for this intelligent presentation of the results of the war on the human race. It has been inspiring and it ought to make us sympathetic with those people who suffered so very much more than we have. I thank him in your behalf and for myself for this wonderful address.

PUBLIC SERVICE ADDRESSES

SERIES 1919-1920 - - - - No. 2

"PUBLIC SERVICE IN AMERICA"

Address delivered by

Charles Austin Beard, Ph. D.

Under the Auspices of the

EDUCATIONAL DEP'T OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT

Philadelphia, Pa.

ADDRESS

Delivered by

CHARLES AUSTIN BEARD, Ph. D.

"PUBLIC SERVICE IN AMERICA"

Under the auspices of the

EDUCATIONAL DEP'T OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT

Room 676, City Hall

Friday, November 14th, at 4 P. M.

Doctor Charles Austin Beard, Director of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and of the New York Training School for Public Service, is considered the leading authority on his subject in America. He is the author of "American Government and Politics," and "American City Government."

"Public Service in America," an illuminating address, was delivered Friday, November 14, 1919, in Room 676, City Hall.

In introducing Mr. Charles Austin Beard, Ph. D., Honorable Charles L. Brown, President Judge of the Municipal Court, said:

This is the second lecture in the course of instructing the people in a better understanding of the public social service. We had a very enlightening address recently from Colonel Folks, who had a long experience with the sufferings resulting from the war in Europe. His remarks to us I think opened our eyes to the great necessity of helping the people in Europe as much as possible.

To-day we are very fortunate in having a man to talk for us who has had wide experience, who has been connected with the Columbia University, who has made a study of this subject-matter, who is an author on the subject, whose books will profit anybody who will read them with a desire to know. It gives me a great deal of pleasure to present to you to-day Dr. Charles A. Beard, who is the Director of the New York Training School for Social Service and the Director of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, which is, I believe, the parent body of our Bureau here, which has done a great work for us.

ADDRESS

Judge Brown and Ladies and Gentlemen:

The honor of an invitation from Judge Brown to take part in the course for public officers arranged under the auspices of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia is one which any student of government in America may well covet. On that score I may at once register my gratification. There is another reason, perhaps less a matter of sentiment, why I am grateful for the opportunity to take part in this educational program. As a citizen and more than casual observer of the drift of things administrative, I see in courses of this character a new and promising sign for the advancement of public service to a higher plane of performance. This course is one of an increasing number springing up here and there in our great cities. I am going from Philadelphia to-night to Washington, where a committee of the Federal Government is taking into consideration the subject of training for the Federal Service and what should be done by the Federal Government to improve the service of that Government. Such courses as this are a sign that we are beginning to recognize public service as a calling worthy of the finest enthusiasm and the best talent that America can afford. It is also a sign that we are beginning to appreciate that men and women must be trained in this calling, or rather its several branches; that we cannot trust to luck and to chance information to provide the wise and humane service which the people have a right to expect at the hands of our governments—municipal, state and local.

We have too long delayed the founding and extension of courses of instruction such as I understand you are giving here in Philadelphia in connection with your Municipal Court. It is strange that with all our faith in education, and with our huge expenditures for educational work, we have given so little attention to education for the public service. It is strange also that while spending hundreds of millions for education, our governments have had so little faith in it that they

have been unwilling, except perhaps in purely technical matters, to give to education the weight which it deserves in the selection and promotion of public officers.

There are many reasons why we have been negligent in this matter. Like all countries, traditions cling to us long after the circumstances which gave rise to them have passed away. Our great tradition in regard to public service is best expressed in the language of Andrew Jackson: "The duties of all public officers are, or at least admit to being made so plain and simple, that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance." It is expressed also in the Constitution of the State of Indiana, which provides that no qualifications save an oath to support the Constitution of the State and of the United States shall ever be imposed upon those seeking admission to the practice of law. This declaration of principle was true enough in the main when it was uttered—in an age of stage coaches, tallow candles and bucket brigades for fire fighting. When the most important function of the public works department was the maintenance of the town pump, any citizen of ordinary intelligence could readily qualify for chief of the department.

It seems hardly necessary to point out in detail the great revolution that has taken place in American government since Andrew Jackson was President of the United States. A few significant facts, however, will readily demonstrate how utterly obsolete is the old tradition, That any person of ordinary intelligence can fill any public office acceptably by merely exercising the wits with which Mother Nature has endowed him. Mark Twain said if any American citizen ever showed a tendency to doubt the existence of an overruling Providence, let him consider the way in which we had tried to govern ourselves for the past hundred years.

The first striking fact in this great revolution in American life since Andrew Jackson set the tradition for Public Service, is the steady increase in the number and variety of activities now undertaken by the Government which were wholly unknown in the days of Jacksonian democracy. Our governments now own and operate great water works, electric light, and, in a few instances, street railway plants. Where they do not own and operate, they regulate in great detail the

rates and capitalization and the conditions of operation. Our governments have embarked on large programs of social betterment; tenement house control, minimum wages, mothers' pensions, industrial hygiene, preventive medicine, housing schemes as in Massachusetts, industrial insurance, workmen's compensation, and aid in home building enterprises, city zoning in connection with city planning, municipal markets. They determine the standards for buildings, private houses, tenements and offices; they inspect boilers, elevators, mines, factories; indeed, there is not a branch of private enterprise or industry with which the government does not come into more or less direct contact. Great skyscrapers are built only after the approval of plans by the public authorities, shafts of mines are sunk thousands of feet into the earth only in accordance with standards as to safety and ventilation which are fixed under governmental authority. The houses in which we dwell, the offices and factories in which we work, the ships in which we set out to sea, are all of them under the eye of one or more agencies of the government. The water faucet, the milk delivered at the door, the purity of the food and drugs which we buy, the public conveyances in which we ride are all at one point or another under government supervision and control. For us the agents of the government patrol the watersheds hundreds of miles in the country from which we draw our water supply; for us the bacteriologist bends over the test tube trying out the purity of the water and the milk; for us the chemist works at his crucible testing the quality of the steel that goes into our public buildings, or the composition of the pavement on which we walk. Indeed, wherever we are, or whatever we do, in our private or industrial life, we come directly in contact with the authority of the government. Our safety, our health, our comfort and our commerce depend in a measure, which few of us appreciate, upon the skill, efficiency and loyalty of thousands of employes in our municipal, state and national service. They are for the most part in the annals of politics and history unknown and unsung; the glory that comes to the military hero is seldom theirs, but in very truth without their labors the military hero would have no country worthy of the name for which he could show his valor on the field of battle.

That is not all. Upon the conduct of our police department and our courts of justice, even more perhaps than any other branch of the government, depend the views which millions of aliens form as to American ideal and government. The average citizen does not realize how large a proportion of his fellow-citizens are arrested from year to year for offenses great and small, and brought within the jurisdiction of our courts. In the city of New York alone we arrest on the average of 150,000 to 175,000 people a year. A very large proportion of these offenders have transgressed not so much the old-fashioned moral laws as the ordinances and rules that have grown up of necessity in our cities—health ordinances, building ordinances, food and drug ordinances. Since a very large proportion of the people arrested are from the poorer sections, and since a very large portion of our poorer population is of alien origin, it follows as night the day, the courts are our most important agents in expounding American ideals or in driving into bitter enmity toward American institutions the tens of thousands of people who are annually caught within the toils of the law. The bearing of the patrolman, of court attendants, probation officers and judges, is of great importance that we can hardly overemphasize. And especially important in these trying times are industrial crimes. There should be no doubt about our determination to apply the rigors of the law to the criminal, wherever he may be found and under the guise of whatever philosophy he may preach. But it is important to remember that the line is not easy to draw between intention to stir up violence and language which by construction may stir up violence, and where our courts of justice and our police officers and the officers of our courts have to deal not merely with open acts of violence or of misconduct, or matters of opinion, they are treading upon delicate ground, ground so delicate that I fear the situation is not appreciated as much as it should be here in the United States. It is my thought that we should uphold law and order and sustain the Constitution, but let us not forget in enforcing the fourteenth amendment, safeguarding the rights of property, that we should not neglect the first amendment, which provides for liberty of press and of speech. For this country was founded on the grounds of opinion. My ancestors came to America

nearly three hundred years ago, not to seek material betterment, not to find more money, but to seek freedom for their belief. To that great cause they dedicated their lives, and it is important that in coming years we should seek to make the development of democracy in America a peaceful development of calm and deliberate discussion, in which we should all be as willing to hear expounded opinions with which we do not agree as opinions with which we do agree, and it is a very painful thing to listen to somebody whose views we do not share.

And so in these days it is important that we should emphasize more than in ordinary times the relation of our courts, and of the servants of the courts, not only to this great body of aliens within our gates, but also to natives within our gates, that in dealing with them we should observe correct, humane and wise relations, as well as firm.

Happily everywhere is this being recognized. Courts, like institutions, are being specialized to deal with particular cases, each group of which involves highly technical knowledge, both of material circumstances and of human nature. During this time has been the division of our courts into various parts to deal with various problems. It is a sign that we are recognizing the importance of technical training, of technical experience, in dealing with the highly special problems that appear not only in the civil courts but in the criminal courts.

But in passing from that subject I have just indicated a great range of public activity in the United States. I have shown how our government so closely and vitally affects our liberties and comforts and our convenience, our safety and our health.

In surveying the extent and variety of our public services, we see that our governments to be efficient and strong must command as employes men and women who are proficient in all of the known sciences, arts, crafts. A glance through the roster of employes of the city New York, for example, reveals this fact in a striking manner. We start with arboriculturists at the top of the alphabetical list and run down through accountants, actuaries, alienists, apothecaries, architects, auditors, bacteriologists, boiler makers, bricklayers, cement testers,

comptrollers, corporation counsel, demographer, detective, dietitian, electrician, engineer (mechanical, electrical, civil, etc.), finger-print expert, fireman, franchise searchers, housekeepers, linemen, mechanicians, medical examiners, obstetricians, pathologists, pharmacists, psychologists, real estate experts, riveters, shoemakers, statisticians, surgeons, tinsmiths, transitmen, upholsterers, veterinarians, X-ray assistants, yeomen, to mention only a few by the way of illustration.

In nearly all these branches of work it is not only necessary to have the technical training but also a mastery of the peculiar problems that arise in governmental work.

It is not only the variety of governmental enterprise that challenges our attention and concern, there is in addition the number of men and women which it takes to conduct our public service. The city of New York, for example, has approximately 90,000 employes, including the teachers. This is nearly three times the total population of that city when George Washington was inaugurated President on April 30, 1789. If we estimate that each employe represents a family of five, we see that nearly a half million men and women and children are more or less directly involved in the public service of that city. A very competent engineer some three years ago estimated the total number of civil service employes in all governmental positions in the United States at approximately two million. Already our state, city and federal governments have in their service as many members of the American Society of Civil Engineers as are engaged in private consulting practice, and more than are employed by either railway corporations or private manufacturing or contracting companies. If we should add to the two million or more now directly employed by our governments approximately three million more employed by our railways and utility corporations directly under government supervision and control, and by practice in the quasi public service, and we see how immense is the army of men and women in this country directly or indirectly connected with the work of the government, or with activities closely under government supervision.

I will illustrate what I mean by citing that field of public utility where the government regulates the rate which a corporation can charge. It by that act assumes responsibility to

a considerable extent at least for the wages paid and the labor policy followed by that corporation, and cannot deny its responsibility. So that, looking at the matter broadly, we are surprised to find two millions of people directly employed by our governments and three million more whose wages and conditions and hours of labor are directly affected by governmental action. I beg you to remember that the Adamson Railway Law was passed before the railways went into the hands of the government.

It is not probable that the number will diminish. Indeed, there is every reason to believe, whether we like it or not, the number will increase, but even as it stands it is great enough to strike the imagination of even the most indifferent citizen who has thought that the government service need receive little attention and could take care of itself, relying on rule of thumb methods in training, selecting and promoting civil employes.

There is another aspect of the subject which, though it need not detain us long, deserves to be considered for a moment. This service is expensive. The cost of government has been increasing rapidly. It is still increasing. There is every reason to believe that it will continue to increase. Not long ago the Bureau of Municipal Research had occasion to survey the finances of an important American city and as a result of its investigation it was compelled to point out that if the expenses of that municipal government continued to increase as they had increased during the past ten years, the tax rate in 1928 would be nearly 6 per cent. on the assessed valuation of the property for taxation. It now costs nearly $300,000,000 a year to conduct the government of the city of New York. That is nearly $250 for every family, reckoning five as the average. The cost of our state governments are mounting. If you have any doubt about the federal government, consult the income tax law.

Here then is a great branch of human activity called the public service which takes an increasing amount of the total national income for maintenance and upon which the very foundations of our social order and our public welfare rest, and it will be borne in mind in this connection that ours is not a socialistic government, and that these functions have

been undertaken on practical considerations. They do not rest upon the theory that the state should assume the ownership and control of an immense amount of property and enterprise now left in private hands. It is a condition, not a theory, that confronts us. Need I say more to show that here is a great field of human interest worthy of the deepest study and the most thoughtful consideration of every citizen concerned in the fate of American civilization? That upon the wisdom, the humanity, the justice, the firmness and the efficiency of the army of public officers in their service that runs along from year to year, there rest the foundations of this great structure? Is it too much to say that in this trying hour of ours, when we are confronted with great conflicts in the world and the whole world is in turmoil, that it is to the humanity, the strength, and the wisdom of our governments that we must look for the security of civilization in America? Need I say more to convince you, if you are not already convinced, that the public service in all its branches is a subject worthy of your study and your deepest consideration?

That is not all. It is one of the paradoxes of our age that at a time when this great burden is thrown upon our governments—municipal, state and national—political democracy is triumphant throughout western civilization. At a time when the mayor of a great city at the head of all important branches of municipal administration bears upon his shoulders burdens greater than those imposed upon the kings of old, we have put the ballot in the hands of every citizen. I think that it is not an extravagance to say that the Mayor of a city of a hundred thousand people has greater responsibility resting upon him than King John of Magna Charta fame, more serious responsibilities for the health, comfort, safety and convenience of the people than did the king so great in history. And yet at this time we are entrusting the whole delicate process of government not only to Tom, Harry, Dick and Will, but to Susan, Bridget and Jane. (Laughter.)

Even by those who often have been the most vigorous champions of democracy we are told that democracy is notoriously inefficient, that democratic governments cannot be entrusted with responsibilities assumed by aristocratic governments. Before the war it was one of the boasts of those who defended

the German system that at least it was efficient, that railways and lighting plants and housing plans and the other myriad divisions of municipal and central government were handled in a more businesslike fashion in Germany than anywhere else in the world. It was boldly said—and there are plenty of books probably in America containing this thought—that while a German city might with safety undertake a great enterprise, no such experiments could be made in American cities. The answer was that we preferred governments of our own choosing, even though they may be inefficient to governments imposed upon us even though they are conducted with mechanical precision. There are some things more important in the world than a low death rate. It is not, after all, so important that we should live as that we should live worthily. That issue has been tried out on the field of battle and is settled for the time being.

In other words modern civilization has been confronted with two solutions of the great problem—how to secure a public service competent to discharge the public functions. The German answer was to commit public administration to men highly trained and imposed upon communities by authorities not subject to their control. The American answer is that all authorities must be subject to popular control, and America will now approach without fear the other part of the question —how to combine technical skill of the highest order with popular election and control. Upon the solution of that problem depends the fate of democracy in the world. It is well for us to remember that in the economy of Providence two hundred years are a short time, as we look back, as I am prone to do, for I used to teach at college a course in general history, in which I began with the Fall of Man and ended with the Fall of Port Arthur, and I got the habit of looking at things at long range. I devoted, I remember, a half an hour to the disposing of the early Egyptian Empire, which lasted some three or four thousand years. I am serious when I say that if we look forward as we look back, the difference between a wise man and a fool is that a wise man looks forward, the fool merely looks down. If we look forward as well as backwards I think we will be compelled to confess that the future of our citizenship, the future of that great ideal for which

for more than three hundred years the people of Western Europe have been struggling, depends upon the solution of this problem of a wise, a humane and efficient public service.

With such vision and understanding as I can command, I propose to throw light upon that problem—to my mind the central theme of human interest in western civilization. Frankly I think the way has been pointed out in our educational system. When I say that I am not unmindful of the great industrial problem, and the capital problem. I say this is the central theme, for that problem could not be solved merely by conflict between the two great parties engaged in it, but it involves every point in the great structure which we call the state. If the state is incompetent for its task, both labor and capital will be incompetent for their task.

Now that is before us, how to train and select and promote and encourage and develop a loyal and effective public servant throughout all the branches and in all the grades, a subject to which we have given very little attention.

The teaching profession is the one branch of public service for which we now provide thorough and systematic training, and in which we offer to the youth of the land an opportunity to climb the ladder from the humblest position in the smallest rural community to the highest educational post in the greatest city. Here is the one profession of public service which young men and women can enter with full confidence that by careful training and systematic and loyal devotion they can count upon a continuous and progressive career. That teachers are not now amply compensated I do not deny. That, however, is a matter that can be and will be remedied.

But the point that I wish to make is simply this, that that is the one branch of this great public service which we have recognized as requiring special training, and in which we have provided careers for the men and women who want to devote their lives to it.

The problem before us in the other branches of the public service is to follow the example set in the education service. This implies to my mind three things—first, training for admission to the service. In those cities that have civil service and in the federal government, credit is now given for training along certain lines in educational institutions of recognized

standards. For example, in the selection of an assistant engineer, the federal civil service recently announced that in addition to credits for examination work, training and experience, it would accept graduation from a technical course in a college or university of recognized standing in lieu of two years of the required experience. There is no reason at all why the technical branches of our civil service should not all adopt the principle involved in such a rule. If this were done, our public schools, colleges and universities could easily work out programs of instruction which calculate to acquaint young men and women as far as it can be done through formal classroom work, with the working requirements of the positions for which they are likely to become candidates. If, however, it were argued that it is experience rather than education that counts, the answer is that our educational work could be adjusted to the requirements of the public service in such a way that those contemplating entering the public service could secure under the direction of competent public officers actual laboratory, office and field experience, such as is required for the regular members of the staff. This is done in education, for our normal schools try to give to teachers, in addition to formal instruction, actual classroom experience.

This is not a fanciful idea; it is being carried out in private enterprises in many cities. I take it for granted that you are familiar with the admirable plan developed by Dean Schneider in Cincinnati. He is actually combining classroom instruction with actual shop experience in engineering work. There is no reason why this idea should not be carried into the public service, by which young men and women who are thinking of entering into the public service might be given an opportunity through junior positions in the public service for experience, actually arranged for them in the service by competent officials. There is no reason why we should not give them that practical contact with the actual work of public service which is necessary for proper performance. If we should do this we should have a great supply of competent young men and women prepared to accept junior positions in the public service.

Our great corporations are doing this right along. Has it ever occurred to you that nearly all of our educational ad-

vances has been outside of our institutions of learning? All of our great schools have developed outside of our colleges and universities, and have only been taken into the fold, so to speak, after they had become established and reputable. Lawyers had to start their law schools outside as proprietary institutions. Doctors started their different schools, then business schools and then engineering schools and so on. Then, after these demonstrations had been made, universities have taken them in. Universities are necessarily conservative. They do not like to take risks. They like to accept established facts. Now our corporations are pointing the way for linking up theoretical instruction with practical work. That is the way they are attempting to get efficient service, by selecting, beginning at the bottom. The important thing in public service is that we should not have there the young men and the women who have failed in something else. The important thing is to have there young men and women starting into that service, to give their youthful enthusiasm and loyalty in the beginning, and develop power within it.

At Washington the head of one of the bureaus said his bureau was nothing but a training school for private practice where two-thirds every five years go out, leaving only those that cannot get some opportunity on the outside. Our corporations have developed methods by which they go into our public schools, colleges and technical schools, get them to link up their courses of instruction with the actual requirements of corporate service, and give their young men and young women experience in the corporate service, thus drawing them into that service early in their lives and giving them an opportunity to find out the nature of the work and the possibilities of their several fields of employment.

The second phase in the solution of our problem is training after admission to the service. This is actually being done now in many cities. Indeed, you don't have to go out of Philadelphia to find more than one striking illustration of this new development. Your fire school, for instance, is justly celebrated far beyond the borders of Philadelphia. In some bureaus in the federal government voluntary training courses are conducted. The course which you are offering here in connection with the municipal court is one sign among hun-

dreds of the new idea that is developing in the improvement of our service.

I had on my desk when I wrote this paper a list of forty or fifty courses with which I was already familiar, given in Chicago, Seattle, Dayton, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, where men in actual public service, heads of departments, judges of courts, are learning by practical experience the importance of training those who are in their service. They established their own schools. Now to follow out the analogy after these experiments have been made, we may expect universities to recognize them and crown them and develop them.

3. The third phase of the subject is training for promotion in the public service, training for an efficient performance of duties in the service, training for promotion of the service with a view to opening careers. Sitting on the committee on which I am serving in Washington, the very able head of the bureau said, "We train men and women in Washington for every possible service under the sun in public service except the public service. To put it in another way, in our public service we are training young men and women who are studying law, medicine, engineering and so on, in order to get out of the service. The one thing we are not doing is training them to stay in the service and to rise in that service, and this thing we must do."

If this were done the graduate from the public schools after proper preliminary training might enter a junior position in the city service, receive continuous training and be promoted from year to year into the higher ranges with ever-increasing responsibilites.

4 In the fourth place we must rid ourselves of no small amount of provincialism that besets us in dealing with the public service. Providence has not seen fit to distribute brains geographically. There is no reason why a municipality should insist that all of its employes should be, at the time of admission to the service, residents within its borders. Everything being equal, a knowledge of the local situation is of immense value, but on many occasions it is connected with prejudices and shortsightedness that are positive handicaps.

There are other aspects on the subject, but my time is about gone and I must speak briefly on them. That we should

develop these educational and training ideas, we must count upon having an ever-increasing body of loyal and faithful, trained, efficient and humane public employes. To that should be added one or two other requisites. The first is continuous research in the problems of government and administration, for if government is as important as I have endeavored to prove here to-day, if this service is as vast as I have portrayed it, if this is real to us, then surely continuous research into methods of improving it is as important as anything else that we can enact. And it is an interesting thing that the British Government recently appointed a commission to study methods of improving the British Government, and among the things which that committee reported was a proposition of this kind, that there should be established in the cabinet, headed by an officer, a department of research, to which department all questions should be referred by the cabinet for investigation and inquiry before action, in order that they may develop within the Government a trained body of technicians, statisticians, engineers, specialists, and so on, to inquire into every phase of governmental work in order to put at the service of any public officer at any moment the best that is known in the world, the best literature, the best training, everything that could be known about that particular specialty, no matter how minute. We in America spend millions for research in connection with our great corporations. The General Electric Company has a great plant connected with it for research. Years ago, when I traveled in Germany, one of the most striking things pointed out to me in connection with the chemical factory was a division of research. After we had been through the plant the man took me into another building away from the great plant itself, where they had a body of men at work with test tube and crucibles, and so on. The head of the factory said to me, "These men are not producing anything. They are not engaged in manufacturing anything. Over there is Doctor So-and-So, who is a graduate of"—and he named a half dozen universities, German universities and English, and then he said, "That man worked in the United States steel plant for a number of years. He knows more about a certain particular chemical process connected with steel than anybody in the world." That may have been Ger-

man boasting, but the idea is important, that that country thought it worth while to get the best brains it could get and set these men to work studying out the minutest processes, set them to work not only that they migh know all that Germany knew, but all that the other countries in the world knew. I do not often advise Americans to take a leaf out of a German book, but that is one we may take in connection with any field of activity. Indeed we are already taking it and developing it in connection with our corporation research.

If it is important to have research in increasing the number of tons of steel we produce and the number of yards of cloth, and the variety of goods that we produce, is it not as important to consider research essential to the improvement of this great structure of the state upon which the civilizaion depends?

Then, in addition, research is not enough. Diffusion of information is necessary. This I should like to see. (I might as well go on and dream, because, after all, the future is made of our dreams of to-day.) We might very well have in this country, either public or private, a national institution, a great national institution, for the public service. Perhaps there are some millionaires here who might endow this idea right away, a national institution for the public service work. We should have, first, analyzed and catalogued, all printed information about every subject related to the public service, so that at any moment any officer in the city, aye, the smallest town (and you know we need to give more attention to the small towns in America), in the small town of say, 2500, any officer could find out the best that the world had thought and had known about any particular problem which he is dealing with, could know where he could turn to and get this information. Then we would have a great laboratory where we would have all the latest labor-saving mechanical devices in application to the government, so that public officials in Oshkosh, Kalamazoo, and New York could come and try them out on their particular problems, try out any of these mechanical devices. Then in connection with it we could have an institution for training, by which any city could get a person trained to do any particular kind of work, or to which that city could send its present employes for the purpose of having them trained. Then I

would have, connected with this institution, a peripatetic division which would go around over the country and hold what the teachers call "institutes." Taking health, for an example, the institute of health would diffuse information as to what the best minds on public health in America had developed in order that men and women who were charged with public service functions might have that information themselves. I see before me in my mind's eye holes in the ground, the piles of stone and timber and steel that will form the structure of this new American enterprise, trained, informed, efficient, wise, humane public servants capable to perform any task that civilization may impose upon them.

With our citizens awake to the significance of public service, with our civil service commissions and appointing authorities fully alive to their growing responsibilities, with our splendid educational system geared up to our public requirements, may we not hope that America can solve that problem which has defied every civilization up to the modern age, namely, how to combine with the widest democracy, government strong, efficient, humane and wise? The Greeks searched for it and found it not; a great Greek scholar said that Greece passed away because her capacity to administer was not as great as her capacity to conquer. The Romans searched for it and built up great systems of law and administration, but their empire is a memory. What answer can this great civilization make in the great age that is before us?

(Applause.)

At the conclusion of the address by Dr. Beard, Judge Brown said:

I believe that all of you have been very much profited by the lecture given you by Dr. Beard to-day. I am sure that it is an inspiration to me. I do not know to whom such a lecture could be given with so much benefit and profit to the people of this city and elsewhere, as a talk of this character to the people in the room here to-night. You are engaged in a public service, a service very close to the people, and I am glad to find that this great scholar has such faith in democracy. I

have always had great faith in the people, great love for the people, and that is what the work in this court means—a love for the people, a belief in the people's ability to govern themselves. If the people who have positions under the form of government that they have established would only be responsive and learn how to sympathize, how to help, how to benefit them, how to become better acquainted with their government and better able to work out their salvation for the benefit of the people to come, it would mean an enormous step forward. The lecture to-day was a very inspiring one. It shows the necessity for this whole country to awake in a greater degree than it has done to the problem of instructing those engaged in the public service, that material benefits shall come to the people who have formed these governments, and that their children may be benefited and that there shall arise from those children a greater people that can serve the government when they come into its control, for the betterment of those that come after them. There is nothing like instruction in public service. There is nothing like having the love that comes to you from a service given from you to others. The instruction that you receive in that service enlightens you and broadens you to a greater capacity. "It is more blessed to give than to receive." That is what was meant; not cash, not a dollar, but something from within you to someone else that benefits. That is the instruction that comes to you, and if you have your hearts in the work, and are willing to come and be instructed by those who know how to tell you something, you will be more able in the work that you are doing both in your private agencies and in your official capacities than you were before.

I want to thank Dr. Beard in your behalf and own personally for the honor he has conferred upon us in coming here and giving us this wonderfully instructive talk to-day.

(Applause.)

PUBLIC SERVICE ADDRESSES

SERIES 1919-1920 - - - - No. 3

"The Administration of Public Institutions"

Address delivered by

Mr. Burdette G. Lewis

Under the Auspices of the

EDUCATIONAL DEP'T OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT

Philadelphia, Pa.

ADDRESS

Delivered by

MR. BURDETTE G. LEWIS

"THE ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS"

Under the auspices of the

EDUCATIONAL DEP'T OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT

Burdette G. Lewis is Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies of the State of New Jersey. He is an authority on parole and the indeterminate sentence. While Commissioner of Corrections of the City of New York he helped promote and organize its various courts and probation departments. "The Administration of Public Institutions," an address illustrated by two reels of motion pictures, was delivered Friday, December 12, 1919, in Central Branch Auditorium of the Young Men's Christian Association. The address was based on broad experience and contained a message of great social value.

Judge Brown: This talk is under the auspices of the Educational Department of the Municipal Court and the Teachers' Association of the Board of Education jointly. We are arranging a series of these lectures in order to educate more fully those people who are engaged in the social service work in this city. Before introducing to you Doctor Lewis, I want to present to you Doctor Oliver P. Cornman, of the Teachers' Association of Philadelphia. Dr. Cornman is Associate Superintendent of the Public Schools.

Doctor Cornman: I am very glad, indeed, ladies and gentlemen, and Mr. Chairman, to have the opportunity to express to this audience my appreciation of the privilege that has been accorded the special teachers and others of the public schools in this city to attend this meeting. Perhaps you will be interested in learning how that came about. I had written to Commissioner Lewis on the behalf of the Special Education Section of the Teachers' Association, inviting him to address a meeting of the special teachers. Mr. Lewis wrote in reply that he was already scheduled for a meeting under the auspices of the Municipal Court, and suggested, like the true efficiency engineer that he is, that energy would be conserved if the two meetings were rolled into one, and, through the kind co-operation of Judge Brown, of the Municipal Court, we arranged for the common meeting.

I am not going to take a moment of Commissioner Lewis' time other than to say this, that he is very well known throughout the country for his work in New Jersey and elsewhere, and for his educational interests as well as his institutional interests. I have had the very great pleasure of hearing him at educational conferences and know that he will have something very interesting, very important, and very instructive to say to you.

Judge Brown: It will hardly be necessary for me to say anything more to you about Mr. Lewis. He is going to talk today on the Administration of Public Institutions, upon which subject he is an authority. It gives me great pleasure to present to you Mr. Burdette G. Lewis, Commissioner of Institutions of New Jersey.

ADDRESS

About four years ago two men, one a former Episcopal clergyman and author; the other, a physician, born in Russia, large of stature, genial, a friend and associate of our best-known anarchist, found themselves in the same old-fashioned county jail as prisoners for "disturbing the peace" of New York City. The preacher had written powerfully about the dignity of labor, for which "the Carpenter's" Son had set the standard, but as a prisoner the preacher preferred to sit and think and preach. The anarchist-physician, when "disturbing the peace," had called the workers "the oxen," but when he reached prison preferred to work, and soon became the master workman in the prison. Under his leadership two hundred wretched men took heart and labored for the State until the anarchist's term expired. Needless to say, the preacher lost the leadership to the anarchist-physician and was the butt of prison ridicule.

Today the preacher still preaches to a particular group, while the former anarchist-physician is physician in a city prison where much of the city's misery is brought to view, and has just opened a church where he tries to help the miserable, the envious and the disappointed see that the way out lies along the road paved with the stones of faith, hope and productive activity. A somewhat modern prison administration, even in an old structure, helped transform Ben L. Reitman from a destructive into a constructive force, while to Bouck White it was a very interesting phenomenon to observe. Why did it succeed in Reitman's case and fail in White's case? Because its administration did not give sufficient attention to the individual. It was not possible with the facilities at hand to get the preacher interested in productive enterprise.

The Individual Patient or Delinquent

This failure and this success indicate what we must recognize as the keystone of modern institutional administration; it is the individual patient or prisoner. What of him, whence has he come, what have been his experiences, who have been his associates, what are his good points, his bad points, what can be done for him? He must be prepared to go out into the world.

In this the institution is not unique, for such is the duty of the church, the home, the child welfare station and the school All are successful in proportion to their success in giving the individual this preparation. All fail miserably right at this point. Their failure, however, is no more noteworthy than is that of the social and industrial quack doctors, who shout their diagnoses from the house tops and offer patent nostrums in the market places, but have, as yet, failed to offer any substitute which human beings are able to understand for health, sobriety, honesty, intelligence, industry, perseverance and sympathetic co-operation.

The Institution as a Laboratory

The concrete and intimate facts about the great stream of humanity passing through our public institutions are the pay dirt which the social and industrial engineer must handle with care, for from a study of them he may learn what is wrong with the church, the home, the school and the shop. When the diagnosis is made, then perhaps we may be able to forget the patent nostrums and the 'isms and consider the potent factors which make for life and death in each individual.

Away with the idea that mankind can be divided into two classes, that mothers may be divided into four classes and all prisoners into ten classes. There are as many classes as there are individuals. A famous agitator spent a day in jail upon a hunger strike against industrial conditions, but weakened and gave a bond to keep the peace when he realized that continuance of the strike meant forcible feeding at the hands of a physician. Another agitator gave up a hunger strike of a few hours' duration because the smell of a chocolate drop and of a

juicy steak was too alluring. Differences in the individual account for the differences in character and reaction.

Both were protesting against the same set of conditions. The first had written about the American jungle and was a nervous, intellectual type. The second was a "soap boxer," new to fame, a red-blooded plump and decidedly physical creature. A "size up" of the individual in each case led to the use of widely different methods of dealing with these two prisoners. The immediate results speak for themselves. Because of widely different personalities, treatment had to be varied. One has not been heard from recently, the other is preaching orderly reform.

Common Characteristics of Patients or Delinquents: Classification

Study of the individual delinquent patient has, however, brought to light many facts which are of general application and importance. The most striking characteristics of the delinquent are his lack of education, of industrial experience, of skill and of adaptability. Very few of our delinquents have gone beyond the fifth grade in the public school. Still fewer of them possess any unusual natural industrial ability. Many of them, though possessing fifth school grade certificates, are barely able to read and write.

The application of the group intelligence test in the army surprised us in many ways. It forced us to realize that people generally are not nearly so intelligent as we had supposed. We had supposed that the average man had the intelligence of a youth of sixteen. We found that the average man in the draft army had the intelligence of a boy of thirteen. We had supposed that education was a long, drawn-out process of "soaking in" and drawing out. Necessity and the use of tests helped us make many short cuts toward achievement and to produce results in the army.

Some well-known psychologists had said all persons whose intelligence level is 12 years or less should be in custodial institutions. The army group test revealed the fact that there were thousands of persons making a living and leading a law-abiding life in their communities whose intelligence levels were

8, 9 and 10 years, while some others of the same or of higher intelligence levels were unstable and incapable of self-control, not to speak of control of others.

The application of the army group intelligence and of other tests in New Jersey institutions shows that the percentage of illiteracy and grades of ability revealed by that test are about the same among the inmates of our State prison and reformatory as they were among drafted men generally.

Former Lieutenant Edgar A. Doll, of the Psychological Unit at Camp Dix, now of Princeton University, has reported to me upon his studies in the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies. The report shows that of 700 New Jersey State prisoners tested, over one-third were illiterate in the sense that they could not read sufficiently to answer questions or to comprehend instructions. This, according to Lieutenant Doll, was about the same in the army. About one-fourth of the men obtained scores indicative of good average intelligence, that is, mental power greater than a boy of thirteen, or of the degree of intelligence observed in the upper class of wage-earners, such as skilled workers and clerks. About 6 per cent. to 10 per cent. of the men obtained scores equal to those made by average officers in the United States Army. About 3 per cent. of the men at the prison and more than 6 per cent. of the reformatory obtained scores within the highest average that was recognized for army purposes.

If these results prove out when applied to other prison populations, as we believe they will, at least in substance, prison reformers will be forced to find a better explanation for delinquency than inferior intelligence, for how does it happen that so many people of low intelligence levels never get into prison? Why plan special industrial and vocational education for the prisoner and let the army of children leave the public schools, who may be disinterested in the public school because they do not have the intelligence to get through the present high school no matter what its course of study may be? All should have the proper training.

Some people have a great deal of knowledge, but little intelligence; while others have little knowledge, but much intelligence. Dr. Henry H. Goddard thinks over 50 per cent. of the draft army could not have graduated from the high school

as now constituted, because of the low intelligence level. And yet he states our army was the most intelligent of any. He says we must not confuse knowledge and information with intelligence.

I hope I have made it clear that when we find that the intelligence level of delinquents is low, we have really not discovered anything and that we must delve much deeper. Why are some men of 8, 9 and 10 years' intelligence in prison or before the bars of our courts as convicts, and why are millions of the same intelligence law-abiding and hard-working citizens?

At Atlantic City last June I asked Dr. Goddard for an answer to this question. He replied, "Temperament, but we don't know what that is." One of our brilliant psychiatrists heard the question and answer, and said to me afterwards, "That is where the psychiatrists and psychologists part company. We claim to know something about 'temperament.' Differences in temperament are due to differences in degrees of stability. Some people who have an intelligence of sixteen years are utterly unstable and unable to care for themselves or to treat others fairly. They are unstable because the chemical balance of their system has been destroyed by the improper functioning of the internal secretory system. This failure may be due to the presence of disease germs or to inadequate glandular structures in the body; for example, the thyroid gland which controls the growth, the interstitial glands which control vitality and virility, or the pituitary gland which regulates the nutrition of bone and other connective tissues.

The researches of Dr. Henry A. Cotton, of the Trenton State Hospital, have revealed how infectious organisms developed in the teeth, in the tonsils or in the gastro-intestinal tract may cause insanity, just as specialists have shown these same organisms cause rheumatism and heart diseases. The work of Dr. Max G. Schlapp and of our own Dr. Madeleine A. Hallowell and a few others has shown how the chemical balance may be restored and stability secured by treatment of and development of the internal secretory system.

Such researches have opened the doors. In the meantime, we must individualize our problem and learn what we may from available sources. This is what we have attempted to do at our State Home for Delinquent Boys at Jamesburg.

The intelligence and other tests were applied to the boys in that school and to the boys in the Franklin Industrial School in Trenton. As stated, the Jamesburg Home is a State school for delinquent boys. Boys varying in age from 8 to 16 years are committed to the Home and are kept there from one to two years. They are the admitted failures of our common schools in different sections of the State. In many instances, their failure in school does not appear, according to the school reports, to be due to lack of intelligence, but rather to other factors. The Franklin School is a public school, situated in an average community, and the boys at that school are from a fairly typical social group. The results of the application of the tests in those two schools have been studied from the standpoint of age and of school grade.

A comparison of scores obtained by the Franklin School boys and by the Jamesburg boys, tabulated according to life ages, indicates that at all ages the Jamesburg boys are decidedly inferior. For those 9 years of age, the inferiority amounts to a comparative difference of about 2 years. That is to say, the 9-year-old Jamesburg boys obtained an average score which is equal to that of the 7-year-old Franklin School boys. In like manner, of those 10 years old and 11 years old, the Jamesburg boys obtained an average score equal to the Franklin School boys who were 8 and 9 years of age, respectively.

Of those 11 years of age, the inferiority of the Jamesburg boys amounts to more than 2 years. Of those 12 years of age, the inferiority of the Jamesburg boys amounts to 3 years. That is, the 12-year-old Jamesburg boys achieve a score below that of the 9-year-old Franklin School boys. Similarly, the 13-year-old boys at Jamesburg achieve an average score equal to that of the 10-year-old Franklin School boys. For the ages 14, 15 and 16, the Jamesburg boys failed to exceed on the average the average score of the 10-year-old Franklin School boys.

These results are presented graphically in the accompanying Chart I, Plate I. Upon its face, this chart indicates the general inferiority in the intelligence of the Jamesburg boys at each year. In other words, the Jamesburg boys seem to represent the highest quarter of intelligence of the average boys of similar [illegible] outside the institution. In like manner, the

Jamesburg boys are very decidedly intellectually inferior to the ordinary public school boys in Trenton.

Some may object to this conclusion and state that the Jamesburg boys appear to be intellectually inferior to ordinary public school boys because the Jamesburg boys have not had educational opportunities. That is to say, the results of the examination might be influenced by their lack of progress in the grades, or that the general intelligence of these boys might have been retarded because of the lack of adequate training through education. The accompanying graphic chart, Plate II, indicates that this objection cannot be sustained.

Both groups of boys have had their scores compared according to school grades. When compared in this way it is observed that the Jamesburg boys have approximately equal scores, grade by grade, when compared with Franklin School boys according to grades. This may be interpreted as signifying that the inferiority above mentioned is not the result of a lack of training through education, but that it is a true intellectual inferiority. The delinquency itself may have been brought about, at least in part, by the very inferiority of intelligence.

Additional evidence of the influence of education is offered when the two groups of boys are studied with respect to the average age for each school grade. Such a study indicates that the first-grade boys at Jamesburg have an average age of 12 years, whereas the Franklin School boys in the first grade have an average age of 7 years. Similarly, the second-grade boys have comparative ages of 12.4 for Jamesburg and 8.7 for the Franklin School. Similarly, in other ages up to sixth grade there are decided inferiorities on the part of the Jamesburg boys in school grade when studied from the point of view of life age. That is to say, the Jamesburg boys in the first grade are retarded 5 years as compared with the Franklin School boys; in the second grade, they are 4 years retarded; in the third grade, 3½ years retarded; in the fourth grade, 3 years; in the fifth grade, 2½ years; and in the sixth grade, 1½ years.

This result confirms the conclusion stated in the first paragraph, namely, that the Jamesburg boys are d[illegible]y inferior in intelligence, for, although they have mucl[illegible]r ages in

each school grade, the school grade scores are nevertheless inferior on the average to those of the Franklin School boys of very much lower ages.

It must be remembered, of course, that there are very great differences in each age which do not show in the average. In general, the intelligence level, which is exceeded by 50 per cent. of the Jamesburg boys, is exceeded by 90 per cent. of the Franklin School boys; that is to say, the typical Jamesburg boy's intelligence would rank about 10 per cent. or 20 per cent. on a scale of 100, if such a scale were based on the typical performance of the ordinary public school boy.

The general indications of these results are that a gross classification of the children at Jamesburg on the basis of mental age is possible. Secondly, that this classification should permit of more effective and at the same time more economical treatment of children at the State Home for Boys in academic school training, in industrial school training and in general responsibility. These tests have enabled the Superintendent and Board of Managers of that institution to begin the reorganization of the existing industrial shops and organization of real industrial and vocational shops, providing real industrial and vocational training. In this they have been assisted by the members of my own staff and especially by the Union Printers' League of New Jersey, representing organized labor. Their special committee has made a study, not only of this institution, but of two other State correctional institutions, and have worked out a course of study for the printing industry in each plant, which is thoroughly practical and thoroughly co-ordinated with the other educational, industrial and administrative activities of the institution. A careful study has been made by our Division of Education and Parole of the various shops, in order to determine how the various machines may be assembled properly and how the boys may be taught to produce actual goods under natural surroundings, while at the same time they acquire the necessary vocational and industrial training, including shop arithmetic, shop reading and writing and spelling.

Responsibility of Educational and Health Departments

The studies which we have been able to make thus far show that the public school is apparently no more responsible for the shortcomings of the delinquent than for the shortcomings of the average civilian of reformatory age. The important thing to remember is that these figures constitute a terrific indictment of our handling of our growing children and youth in the outside world. A careful study of offenders in institutions and the application of intelligence and other tests in the army indicate that our Health Departments and our Educational Departments, fundamental as they are in our scheme of things, leave much to be desired. Our Health Departments are certainly to be highly commended for great success in particular cases; for example, in handling babies and young children at Child Welfare Stations and at clinics. But they must not escape censure for their awful failures in public health education, which have cost the nation so many precious lives each year. Public health officials must not allow themselves to be swerved from the path of duty by men who attack public health education as a scheme for the exploitation of health officials. Every form of advertising and publicity should be utilized to get the tremendously important facts before the people. Every epidemic must be utilized in a greater degree than ever for the purpose of public health education.

In like manner, our public schools are to be highly commended for their many very remarkable achievements. We must acknowledge that many of our school teachers are overworked and badly under-paid, but the directors of our school policies cannot escape some censure for not having made school work attractive enough to hold the average child in the school after the fifth grade of school work has been completed. They are particularly responsible for the lack of adaptability of the average school child of fifth-grade experience, because too many of them have centered their attention too closely upon abstract results, rather than upon training the child to do certain things, so that he may develop certain desirable abilities.

Many prominent educators recognize these defects in our secondary school and are doing everything possible to remedy them, but they are not receiving proper support, either from

public school teachers generally or from other citizens, because I am convinced neither the teachers nor citizens very clearly understand what these men hope to achieve.

On the other hand, even our most advanced school men seem to be rather conservative. Despite all of his sympathy with modern ideas and all of his great achievements in the field of education, even Dr. Frank McMurry, and many others less sympathetic with experimentation than he, cannot quite bring themselves to the point of discarding metaphysical abstractions as a goal in education and of substituting therefor a completely modern concept of education, based upon evolution and upon the fullest training of both the hand and the brain. He sees that the school of today is not training the child to be sufficiently adaptable. That is to say, that the child is not trained to use whatever intelligence he has to adapt himself to his surroundings. He sees that in most cases it turns him out into the world insufficiently trained to make a beginning in the proper channel and under the necessity of coping with himself in the critical adolescent period of his life and of leaping the wide gap between the school and the world.

Dr. McMurry says in his book upon the elementary school standards and courses of study:

"In general, the instruction in the elementary school is poor. It would hardly be so unsatisfactory as it is if the working aims themselves of the school were not so low. The most depressing fact about this part of the investigation has been our inability to discover either any general striving toward the higher aims of instruction or even signs of such general striving. Such signs, at least, would be in evidence if broad purposes controlled the field. This fact emphasizes the importance of a formulation by the school authorities of the main objects which elementary instruction should seek to accomplish, in terms that are significant to teachers and laymen alike, and that breathe a broad spirit."

In my judgment, no one has yet improved upon the statement contained in the final report of the Committee on School Inquiry of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment of the City of New York, which was published six years ago. This outlined the proper aims of the modern elementary school as follows:

"The school should give to its pupils a mastery of method. The basis of this method is proper co-ordination between the child's mind and body; in a word, rational self-control. The school can assist in such co-ordination by the inculcation of purpose in the child, by teaching him to appraise the different values of things, by assisting him in organizing his ideas, and, finally, by teaching him to forge ahead and exercise his initiative. But the desired mastery of method can be most easily assisted by the school through activities—constructive team-working activities related in a directly serviceable way to community needs, and to the furnishing of an immediate economic stimulus to the child. A curriculum aimed at the teaching of method would therefore be built upon (a) productive work, (b) participation in economic distribution and consumption, (c) citizenship effort, (d) romantic interest embodied in æsthetic expression and group life, and (e) natural science, both as a subject-matter and as a technique related to the other subjects."

Our secondary schools have labored under handicaps from the beginning. The secondary school had a wrong beginning. Its "cultured gentlemen ideals" came from the English private school and its form of education was borrowed by Horace Mann from the wrong German school, the school for the peasant, which savored too much of the military and of the formal and lacked most of the splendid features of the other German schools, whose form of organization for some strange reason failed to impress Horace Mann, one of the apostles of Democracy.

The Role of the Probation Department

Our Courts, with their developed probation departments, stand as great clearing houses between the community churches, schools, industries and health departments and our great public institutions. In this organization the Judge has the tremendous responsibility of determining in each case whether the person convicted before him or adjudged insane, feeble-minded or epileptic, is to be returned to the community under supervision, or is to be placed in an institution. The Court proceedings do not permit, for obvious reasons, of the intro-

duction of evidence indicating many facts which are of very great importance in determining what is to be done with the prisoner at the bar. It is probably possible theoretically to have all of these facts presented in the form of evidence, but the time required to do so prevents it. The Courts must, therefore, depend upon the probation officers to be the liaison officers between the Court and various Community agencies and various public institutions. They must collect the information for the Court to use in making a determination of what sentence to impose. For this reason the Court must depend to a very large degree upon the honesty, integrity, sympathy and sound judgment of the probation officer. This is the highest type of public welfare work. The vast number of men and women who are making good on probation indicates the very great value of the service and argues strongly for the next steps in the logical development of this service.

The probation department staff should include physicians, expert psychiatrists and practical psychologists and they should be provided with proper facilities in detention prisons and detention homes for carrying on their work. This means a new type of detention prison and detention home, affording every opportunity for proper classification and segregation and even hospital treatment of those who are seriously afflicted or are in need of immediate surgical attention. In short, the probation department should be a great clearing house staff operating in a clearing house institution, which is substituted for the old fashioned city and county jail which is entirely out of date.

What then should be the training of the probation officer? It is obvious that he must be a man capable of investigating conditions, of understanding facts and of forming sound judgments. He must be a man of broad human sympathies and of considerable experience in different fields. He must be, above all things, a man who is able to put himself in the other fellow's place. He must not be a routinist, he must not be too sentimental, he must not be too unfeeling. He must be a man capable of reducing his sympathies and his interests to concrete simple suggestions which the probationer may be led to appreciate and to follow. The probation officer must be a man willing to associate and to come in contact with the very best

workers and thinkers in the field of public health and in our public schools and with the very best thinkers and workers among our Superintendents, Medical Directors and Parole Officers of public institutions. He must be a man capable of sifting the well known facts which are being brought to light in all these fields, in such a way that he may make a simple, concrete, brief and direct interpretation of facts for the consideration of the Court which he serves. He must be capable of bringing the facts concerning institutional administration to the attention of our over-worked judges, so that the Courts may function more and more as agencies interested in the rehabilitation as well as in the trial of the offender. The Probation Officer should be able to convince our most conservative judges of the very great value and utility of the proper administered indefinite or indeterminate sentence. That is but another way of saying that the probation officer should be a mediator between the institutions, the courts and the public.

Why the Public Should Support Modern Institutional Administration

I hope I have demonstrated clearly to you that our institutions should not be conducted merely as custodial institutions to protect the public from the wrong-doer or the weakling for a definite period of time merely and solely through careful custody. It is but the part of wisdom for the public to support the plan of making our public institutions great laboratories and treatment stations where the offender, the misfit and the unfortunate may be given an opportunity to prepare for a different life, and if in need, may be given the medical and other treatment required to provide him with a body and, as far as possible, with training which will permit him to make good when the opportunity offers itself after his release. The most careful scientific educational and other modern work then finds an entirely new justification in that these types of work may unearth the facts about our people generally which busy school men, public health officials, judges, lawyers, public spirited citizens and men and women generally do not have the time or the opportunity to discover. In short, if adequately supplied with funds and if properly supported by officials and by public

spirited citizens generally, our public institutions will furnish much of the information upon which our people may base a program of evolution which may be depended upon to defeat the carefully laid plans of those who insist that we must continue to pull everything up by the roots and "over-turn," "over-turn," "over-turn."

PUBLIC SERVICE ADDRESSES

SERIES 1919-1920 - - - - No. 4

"AMERICAN AMERICANIZATION"

Address delivered by

Allen T. Burns

Under the Auspices of the

EDUCATIONAL DEP'T OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT

Philadelphia, Pa.

Allen T. Burns is Director of the Study of Methods of Americanization of the Carnegie Corporation, and is well known throughout the country in his work of directing a nation-wide study of Methods of Americanization. For years he was engaged in settlement work in Chicago, and later became Director of the Civic Commission of Pittsburgh, which was organized after the Pittsburgh Survey. He was also Survey Director of the Cleveland Foundation.

"American Americanization," an address containing a message of great importance, was delivered Friday, January 9, 1920, in Room 676, City Hall.

JUDGE BROWN: You are asked to come to these meetings to learn of those who have made studies in certain lines, that you may gather the information so as to be of more service to the community and to the people that come under you. There is no more interesting subject than the subject that you are going to listen to today of usefulness in this broad country, and I have very great pleasure in introducing to you this afternoon a man who has made a real study of Americanizing Americans. It was with gratification that I learned that he was willing to come and talk to us this afternoon. I have the honor to present to you Mr. Allen T. Burns, of the Carnegie Corporation, the corporation that is doing a great work of helpfulness in this country.

ADDRESS

Mr. Burns: Your Honor, and other friends of our New Americans: The subject of Americanization, which you have so kindly asked me to discuss—and I hope that it will be a discussion and not simply a lecture this afternoon—needs to be thought of with the emphasis on the first part rather than on the last part of the word Americanization. We have put more thought on "ization" than we have on American. As an immigrant said to me not long since, " 'ization' is what so many of us fled from in Europe. We are interested to know whether 'American' makes it any different." So it is just as well, if we are going to talk about "izating" anybody, that we be sure that it is the kind of ization that is thoroughly consistent and in harmony with Americanism. Let us ask ourselves, to begin with, what is typically American, or Americanism? To sum up Americanism in one word, it is self-determination. It makes no difference whether we are talking about the newest immigrant or the immigrant that came here in the Mayflower: the great underlying and controlling characteristic of those folks has always been self-determination. You may phrase it in a good many ways: self-assertion, self-direction, self-reliance, initiative, enterprise, pioneer spirit, as you like, but those of us who know the immigrant well, as I think most of us here do, realize what an unusual kind of character it is that makes an immigrant—the burning of bridges and the breaking of home ties, the tearing up of roots, and breaking away from all that is dear to a person, who comes three thousand miles into a strange land, just as strange perhaps when it is full of strange people and strange buildings as when it was full of strange woods and strange rocks. That all calls for unusual character, unusual ability to do things for one's self and determination to hew out one's own career.

The great Atlantic Ocean, if you please, and the new continent have acted as a great process of natural selection that have brought to this land on the whole just one kind of people, and that is the kind of people who are determined to be self-reliant and self-sufficient.

This characteristic has given us in America something to boast of. Before the war, when our manufacturers talked about the reason that we were outstripping and bound still more to outstrip the other nations of the world in production, they went back to the kind of workmen that America possesses, the man who was less dependent on explicit direction, minute supervision of every act and motion that he made in production, than the men who stayed behind him in Europe. The characteristic that makes our factories turn out more per dollar of capital or more per man than the factories of the rest of the world, that same characteristic of strong self-reliance, self-sufficiency, enabled us to train our great armies twice as rapidly as the armies of Great Britain were trained in the World War. It enabled our boys to fight as valiantly as they did, because they were less dependent upon explicit direction of a superior officer and more able to meet the situation on their own initiative and responsibility than the armies of the other Allies. This is the characteristic that I referred to as fundamental in Americans, whether new or old, and a characteristic that we must consider in all our relations with them, and a characteristic that, whether we will respect it or not, the new American is bound to preserve in all his relations with us.

But before the first immigrants landed in this country they realized that this tendency to self-assertion and self-determination could very easily go astray or run amuck if in certain particulars it was not restrained in the interests of the common weal. Putting it in another way, they realized that their own interests and aims in life in certain particulars would be better met and satisfied if there was collective action to meet those common needs. But we have to realize that the beginning and development of American Government grew out of this fundamental characteristic of self-assertion, and that the extreme individualism of America has yielded to group and collective action and has been circumscribed in the interests of

public welfare, only so far as the individuals of America have realized that they could get greater satisfaction in their desire for self-realization when they acted as a group than when they acted singly. The whole process that has been going on in America ever since the first immigrants came here has been one of deciding just how much individual liberty shall be circumscribed in the interests of common welfare; or, as I saw it stated in a New England town, learning that private rights end where public injury begins,—to put it more positively still,—where private resources are inadequate, group and collective resources must be brought into play.

This brings us very close to the heart of the great problem of America today, that of self-government. Self-government in America is just one form of the growth of this great American tendency of self-assertion or self-determination, and there is no question more in our public print or in our private minds than whether what a hundred and fifty years ago was called the great American experiment of self-government can continue and still be successful. For, after all, whatever might happen with the new American, if he could not become an integral part and parcel of this great process of self-government, of realizing our individual and common welfare through our common group, joint action, then we would have failed in Americanization no matter what else may have been accomplished.

Perhaps enough has been said to indicate what I mean by Americanism and Americanization in the American sense. It is this self-assertion, both individually and collectively applied, always in the interests of the common welfare; and with this understanding, then you can understand also why the immigrant wants to know whether it is this Americanization that he is going to experience, or Prussianization or Russianization or some other of the "izations" that he has experienced in the lands from which he fled. And very much that has been attempted, and unsuccessfully, I am glad to state, under the name of Americanization, could very much more truly be characterized by some of those European terms, just because it violates this principle of self-determination, self-reliance, self-development, that I tried to lay down as the fundamental characteristic of America. If we make people

perfect imitators, little copies of somebody else here in America, reduce them to mere acquiescents, recipients or imitators of others, no matter how good the pattern might be, you see that thereby we would have destroyed that very fundamental characteristic I am trying to emphasize as the great essential in Americanism. So that all forms of Americanization that could be brought about by compulsion or coercion or the injection of this or that idea, or the putting on of a ready made suit of clothes, of manners or speech, or anything else that was a mere copy or imitation, would be unworthy of America itself, would be going on the supposition that somehow, by making puppets out of people, you could make them Americans, and, according to our definition, you see how contradictory that idea is.

Understanding this idea of Americanization in the abstract or in principle, let me illustrate the two kinds of Americanization, the American Americanization and the European Americanization, if you please, from a rather non-controversial field, that of music, for I take it that we all understand that Americanization, to be worthy of America, must not only observe and preserve this great principle of self-government, but must also be as inclusive as life itself, that there is musical Americanization, industrial Americanization, vocational Americanization, and as many phases of the great subject as of life itself. So I want you who are social workers, but especially court workers, to realize that you are just as truly in the Americanization field as those who are teaching English or helping the new Americans to become naturalized. The adaptation of our court machinery to the needs and understanding of the immigrant so that it deals on even-handed justice and intelligible justice to the newcomer, is to my mind more surely working for his incorporation in and an understanding of America than all the things that can be merely inculcated into the immigrant. As Emerson once said, "What you are speaks so loud that I cannot hear what you say," and the clearest understanding of our Government, I suppose, comes very much more from his experience with our local institutions, the Government in action, than the Government in talk and in lesson. I urge you to consider this, who are dealing in any vital relation with immigrants.

Now to come back to this comparison I want to make, to bring out more clearly the kinds of Americanization in the field of the musical life of America, or musical Americanization. The question that I want to raise is, How would you Americanize an immigrant musically? Here are two ways that happened to come to me in two days' experiences that illustrate the whole point that I am trying to make this afternoon. Last winter, one Friday night, I went to one of the most gorgeous productions of the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York, and I sat up where some immigrants sat, in the top balcony. I saw them admire and behold and passively observe and enjoy the great spectacle and musical treat spread out before them. They could drink it in and undoubtedly it had an influence and bearing upon all their future tastes and interests in music.

The next night I happened to go to a very humble lodge of Letts, in a room which they rented by the year in order that they might have their own community center, a place for cultural activity. They were giving that evening an entertainment both dramatic and musical. Parts were given in considerable profusion—quartette, orchestra, solos and so on. I noticed that they all paid the most attention to the first violinist of their orchestra, and they well might, for his ability and his talent were most evident. I asked them why they were so interested and where they secured such an unusual expert. They said that he was one of their boys that they realized had musical talent, and so they had all chipped in out of their meagre wages and collected a fund which was giving him a thorough musical education in America, under our great musical leader, Mr. Damrosch. The question is, How do Americans become a vital, integral part of American musical development? In which way are they being musically Americanized more certainly, by being the passive observers and recipients of the most finished musical performances that America can provide, or by asserting their own musical tastes and talents and interests in the way these humble Lettish folks were doing? There in a nutshell is the contrast and comparison between the two methods of Americanization that are more or less in competition today. The reason that I am trying to impress upon you the value of this as a way of be-

coming Americanized musically is not that I am primarily interested in music, but that I am extremely interested in all forms of American relationship and life that help a people to acquire the power of doing things for themselves, first individually and then collectively. For this problem that this country is facing today is the problem of whether people will still rely upon the collective methods of democracy for realizing the needs that are apparent and appreciable to themselves.

As we have gone over this country trying to find out how Americans—the new Americans—are being most successfully initiated and inducted into the kind of Americanism that has been described to you, we have found that for the most part not in the activities that have been called Americanization, but in those activities in which the immigrants were learning that by grouping together and working upon important, pressing needs of their situation, they were coming to believe most heartily and sincerely in America and in American methods of doing things for the common welfare.

Let me give you an illustration from a Finnish settlement up in New England. There is a group of some five or six thousand Finns in a community of less than fifty thousand people. They have been facing various exigencies and needs, common to them with other Americans, and have not been entirely satisfied to let those needs be supplied by what others had to give. They have set about meeting them themselves in a way that seems to me most closely analogous with what our forefathers did when they needed a public school, or needed to send their children to bed at a certain time and had the curfew established, or organized a militia company to deal with the Indians. These people, like all the rest of us, have pressing problems just as the original immigrants did, different from theirs, but no less real. The question is, will the new American learn this great art of self-government in the same way that the original immigrants did, namely, in getting together where individual resources are insufficient, and, as a group, in a democratic fashion, undertaking to solve that problem?

This group of Finns have done more than any other single group I have met in the United States in dealing with many of the problems common to us all. They have been

interested in actual, vital cultural development. They built their little theatre and music hall, and employed a full-time musical director and a full-time dramatic director. They decided fresh air and recreation were good for them, if it was good for others who received the benefits of charity, but in the interests of fundamental Americanism, if you please, they decided that they would supply these needs themselves. So they bought their own recreation farm, on the outskirts of that town, where they go for their week-ends or a full week's vacation in the summer time. They were the first group in their town that discovered that the new American needed the opportunity to learn English and to meet the requirements for naturalization, and so they established their own classes before the rest of the public woke up to that need. They built a community gymnasium for themselves, the use of which they gradually extended to others of the community that might want it. They have erected a building that very completely typifies their relation with the life of their city, for it is one of a group of very attractive, unusually interesting public buildings, the County and City Hall, the historical society, and the high school and the library, all grouped around the common of the town, and there is a building called the Finnish Building right in the midst of them, apparently an anomaly until you find out this is the labor temple of the community, not for the Finns, but for all the labor group, the Central Federation of Labor, for instance. That is following out the idea that if the mountain will not go to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the mountain. They have reached out and taken the older Americans into their common activity. In this same Finnish building they have begun to meet some of the economic needs of their life. They have a co-operative savings bank, which they operate themselves, with about a million dollar deposit, and the interesting thing to us is that when the building industry of our city was paralyzed last winter, almost the only tenements being put up in New York were being put up by groups of Finns, who borrowed their money up in this co-operative bank in this small New England town. They have done a good deal more than that to deal with these exigencies of the material side of life. The high cost of living affects most of us today. These Finns have

half a dozen stores which they run on a co-operative basis, distributing the profits of those stores in proportion to their purchases, not according to the ownership of the enterprise. So, in a great variety of self-governing, self-determining ways, these Finns are making dents on their situation, no more satisfied to sit down and merely accept what comes to them from a kind Providence or a bad fortune, but determined to hew out their own collective fortunes as well as their individual fate.

The most interesting thing about this group was the kind of a situation out of which their activities grew. I asked the manager of their economic enterprises how it ever came about that they had all this activity to an extent so much greater than a great many of our older Americans have in solving some of the problems common to us as well as to them. The manager of their stores said to me, that this Finnish group a few years ago was entirely a revolutionary crowd. They were Red from the crown of their heads to the soles of their feet. A half a dozen of them got impatient with waiting for the revolutionary millennium and said that they had to improve their conditions here and now. But the great majority said, No, that any modification or amelioration of the present situation would be serious, because it would lessen the interests of the other Finns in the coming revolution, and so nothing of the kind must be done. But these half a dozen who wanted some improvement and betterment right here and now persisted, with the result I have already described to you, and a further result that all these heads of Finnish families that were violently revolutionary came into the organization, and, as the manager said, "there is no more revolution left among them." They have learned that through gradual and slow but sure collective action upon pressing, present need, they can make the greatest progress in promoting their common welfare. And in what better way can the lesson of democracy, yes, the virtue of democracy, be learned?

I was in a group of immigrants who taught me the same thing down in the southwestern corner of this State last May, in a little mining town. They were endeavoring in a way similar to these Finns in New England to deal with this pressing problem of the high cost of living. They had been run-

ning their co-operative store for about six weeks. None of them had become multi-millionaires as yet, and some were discontented and dissatisfied. The question was whether they should not abandon this truly American, democratic way of dealing with their problem and resort to methods of destruction and discontent. They were having what was very much like an old New England town meeting, only dealing with a twentieth century problem, and back and forth, in a most heated way, the discussion ran for a good part of the night until a colored immigrant from Jamaica got up and said, "Breddern, I would like to say a word before I proceed to say what I was gwine to say. This yere co-operative business in which we are engaged is like a great ship bound for America from an infected port. Of course, before you are allowed to land in this wonderful country you must expect to be detained in quarantine a little while until you are thoroughly disinfected." That colored brother's philosophy carried the day. He had discovered the secret, the value of the slow but sure process of democratic procedure, as the only certain way of promoting the common, group welfare. And so, in these immigrant groups in America, we have found this most thorough and fundamental form of Americanization to take place, where the immigrants were involved in a democratic, self-governing, self-determining American way of working out their problems, relying upon their own power and resources.

Of course, the trouble with that whole method is this, that it looks as though you could build up a lot of little communities and groups, entirely isolated and unrelated, that would give us no more coherence as a nation than a handful of grains of sand; and any of us who are interested in fundamental Americanization must realize that we cannot be satisfied with any procedure or process that would leave great groups of these new Americans simply hewing out their own future entirely on their own resources. We could not grant that first of all, because it would leave such misunderstandings, such separations, such chasms and gaps between us all. There is a second reason why it cannot take place, and that is because all problems today are bigger than either the resources or the limits of such groups as those that have been described. In learning democracy through the practice of it, we may be

quite sure, if it is to be thorough-going democracy, that no small group or minority can work out the fortunes of itself and others, irrespective of the bigger group. The immigrants themselves are discovering this perhaps more readily than we older Americans are, that any isolated or segregated operation of the great principle of democracy is insufficient, if not unsuccessful.

Let me give you two or three illustrations of what I mean. There came into my office three or four months ago the leader of a group of Ukrainians in New York City. He said that he was head of the Ukrainian Social Settlement that the Ukrainians themselves had built in New York at the expense of $75,000.00, but they had a lot of problems which they could not solve for themselves, and they needed the resources and experiences of Americans who had faced similar problems for a longer time to join with them in partnership, but not in dictation. That interested me considerably, and I asked him more about his institution, why he called it a settlement. He said that he looked around at American institutions in similar situations, and saw that they were called settlements, and he knew Americans would understand it, and he called it a settlement instead of a People's House as they would do over in Russia. He studied the methods of settlements and as far as possible adapted them to the interests of his group. I said, "That all interests me. Why come to me to ask for help and advice? Why not go to the settlements of New York, who are banded together in a great association?" He said, "Well, we have been in existence some four years and we have never been invited into their fellowship." I have been a settlement resident myself for some ten years and I can understand that situation. We are so confident that our own programs and policies are of the very best, that they are for the highest welfare of those towards whom they are directed, that we have absolutely forgotten that far more important than the highest welfare is this common partnership, this observance of the principle of self-reliance and self-determination. It is far more a part of Americanism than any proper standard of health or culture or any other specific part of human progress. I have seen immigrants in various places reaching out in this same way, where there have been agencies for their welfare,

more or less unsuccessful, and the immigrant in his turn groping and struggling for some kind of relation with Americans that would preserve his own self-respect, his own self-reliance.

Last Fourth of July I was in Chicago at an Italian picnic of 132 Italian sick and death benefit societies. They were holding that picnic together, they said, because they wanted to form a federation of these benefit societies to deal with some of the problems of health around which all these societies centered, to deal with those problems more successfully than they had been able to do as separate units. They said more than that. They wanted to be able to form a partnership with the great health resources of the Middle West Metropolis. It was interesting to see who was at that picnic. The politicians were well represented and the labor leaders were there, the parish priests and the foreign language newspapers, but not one single social welfare agency, not to mention a health organization of the city of Chicago. I can understand that, too, because I have been engaged in health propaganda and promotion in the city of Chicago, and I, like most other American social workers, had been so confident and cocksure that the thing that I would devise was the thing that was best for all concerned, that I had never thought that the only way the immigrant, like the native American, will do anything is on a partnership basis in a self-determining way, not in the relation of benefactor and beneficiary.

Let me give you a more striking illustration of this same idea. A group of Polish women in the city of Chicago came to one of my colleagues who had been making a report on the adjustment of home and family life. This was last summer, also. They said that they were concerned for their Polish sisters, who did not know how to take care of their babies. They wanted to know whether something could not be done to instruct them in what the Americans would call infant welfare. My friend said why sure, she would get some of the pamphlets published by the Federal Children's Bureau, and she thought that they contained the information that would be required. So she got them and had them explained to these Polish women. It seemed satisfactory, and they wanted to know whether there was any law against print-

ing them in Polish, and my friend said no, she thought that would be all right. So they had them translated and began to circulate them among these newcomers of the Polish women. They went like hot cakes. The women came back and said, "It is a great thing. It is too good to be confined to the Polish women in Chicago. Would the Government take it amiss if we recommended to them that there ought to be a whole year devoted to the publishing of these among the immigrants of this country?" My friend said, "No, only the Government had just closed a year's work on that subject, the children's year." The Polish women said, "Why did we never hear of it?" I think the typical method of Americanization in the field of infant welfare perhaps explains the reason, that never for an instant did those who, with the best intentions, had planned this children's year, think that to touch the immigrant it must be done in a partner-like way. There must be a fusion, a union, a joint procedure in working out our common problems in a democratic way, not only if those problems are to be solved, but the still greater aim is to be accomplished, preservation of the great art of American self-determination or self-government.

It was suggested that most of you would be interested more perhaps in the problem of teaching English to immigrants, or how we can establish a common means of communication. I am not talking about that to you very much, because it seems to me in the whole Americanization field we have emphasized a great deal too much a means of communication and thought very little about the communication. So I will try to talk this afternoon about means of trying to enter into communication between the older and newer immigrants. For no matter how strenuous our friends may be about establishing a single language, a common language in this country, we may be quite sure that those efforts will be largely futile if we lose sight of the underlying communication man to man. Let me tell you a story that illustrates what I mean, and I want you to understand that I do not belittle the necessity of the common language, but I am only trying to put some first things first. I have a very good friend in Cleveland, who is vice-president of a large manufacturing company. When the armistice was signed his factory immediately closed down because it was

working on nothing but munitions. He had full charge of the whole personnel, employment, management and so forth. He thought, and his company thought, that this time might give him an opportunity to get the other fellow's point of view of the whole employment relation. They gave him a leave of absence and full pay for a year, and he went as an unskilled laborer in the mills and mines and factories of the manufacturing and industrial parts of our country. This man had unusual educational opportunities. He was a graduate of one of our best colleges, had studied in European universities, had been an officer of one of our colleges later in life, so that he had had all the educational opportunities that any one could enjoy. We were fortunate enough to get copies of the daily reports which he wrote to his firm out of his unusual experience. One of them that came through one day attracted my attention very much. He said in the place where he was then working there was only one thing in all the education he ever received that was of any use to him. That was the Greek that he learned in college, for he said that the foreman of his gang was a Greek and he did not have to depend entirely on gestures, as the rest of the gang did, in order to get at what was wanted to be done. A man in that situation throws considerable light upon some of our difficulties in getting our immigrants to learn English. Until there is actual communication, the relationship which you are helping to establish, and which many of these things which are not called Americanization, but just mutual helpfulness, help to bring about, you will not find that fertile soil in which to sow the English seed.

This perhaps is a discouraging picture that has been drawn. I do not want to leave you with that impression, for we do find instances in which this partner-like method of Americanization is being employed most successfully. I think the most complete Americanization we have discovered is in the athletic field—athletic Americanization, I call it. One hundred per cent. Americanization has been accomplished there. By that I mean that in the athletic field the new American, to practically 100 per cent., has adopted an American standard of athletics. How was it brought about? Very easily and very naturally, because very Americanly. Our

great Amateur Athletic Union has for years been interested in establishing one common standard of amateur competition, so that when you have a race, it is a real race between equals and not between people with various kinds of handicaps and advantages. When the immigrant American arrived here he was anxious to show his prowess in comparison with the native born, and the Amateur Athletic Union was wise enough to meet him half way. Both being interested in common competition, it was very easy for them to agree that they would work out common and fair standards of competition, and that is exactly what the Amateur Athletic Union invited the immigrant Americans to help them do. They took their athletic associations into their local divisional and national organizations and conventions, and on even footing modified and developed the standards of America's amateur athletics, in which both immigrant and native-born participated. For that reason the Amateur Athletic Union reports to us that they have practically no trouble in having one common American standard of athletic competition among foreign-born as well as among native-born. Of course, that is a very unimportant and inconsiderable field of Americanization, but sometimes those fields are all the more suggestive, because so far out of the ordinary range and realm of controversy.

Let me come into a field that is much more commonly considered Americanization, the teaching of English and development in our public schools of community life and social activity and intercourse. In New York, as in most advanced American cities, there has been great interest in recent years in these two lines of common American effort. The most successful instance, however, that we have found, either of teaching English or of developing community center work in the schools, has been in our social centers in New York City, where the Board of Education has formed a partnership with an immigrants' organization. The organization happens to be the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, made up almost entirely of Italian and Jewish immigrants. This organization has appointed an Educational Committee, because the rank and file of its membership realized that it needed not only to learn English, but to have many other kinds of educational, intellectual and social opportunities, and this

committee was ingenious enough to reach out in the same way these Italians and Poles were doing in Chicago and these Ukrainians in New York, to see whether the established agencies of the city would not enter into a partnership, would not allow them to be something besides beneficiaries and recipients, and to be self-respecting and self-directing Americans. The Board of Education was very glad to enter into that kind of relation, with the result that the classes of that union in economics, sociology, literature and the more rudimentary branches ordinarily taught in our schools, have flourished and increased as no other classes in the city of New York, and the same can be reported for their social and recreational activities. In other words, where the thorough-going American principle of partnership, of recognizing the instinct of self-reliance that is so strong in all of us, where that has been observed and preserved and utilized, there we find the most successful and most marked and commendable progress in this fundamental feature of Americanization, the art of self-government.

In order that we may put this method beyond all question, in order that we may see it used by the highest authority, I want to recall one instance of this practice of Americanization by the Federal Government itself during the war. We all remember well enough the great task our Government had of raising the Liberty loans, and how, incidentally and apparently inevitably, it became one of the greatest nuisances of our experience. We were button-holed on the street corner, held up in the theatre, and belabored and besieged at every turn and place in life in order that our Government might secure the funds that it so much needed. It is interesting to note that that is not the way the Liberty loan was raised among the foreign-born in this country, because a foreign-born citizen went to the Treasury Department and said, "If you try that method of raising Liberty loans among the foreign-born you will not be successful, but if you will take their own organizations into partnership with you, recognizing the power and strength and influence that they have among the naturally homogeneous or congenial groups, you will get very much further than you will by this individual solicitation that you are practicing." The Government, beginning with the Second Liberty Loan, accepted the suggestion and made these organi-

zations of the new Americans thorough-going partners, with an astonishing result. There are about 13 per cent. of our population foreign-born. There are about 33 per cent., including the 13, that are what the census calls foreign white stock, that is, if not born in the old country, their parents were. With these percentages in mind, 13 or 33, as the case may be, it is very interesting to note that in the latter Liberty loan between 40 and 50 per cent. of the total number of contributors came from these same foreign-stock sources; that the partner method worked, and that Uncle Sam employed it not only in the interest of the Liberty loan, but in the more enduring interest of learning the great art of Americanism.

There is an application of all this to your important day by day work. Let me talk especially to probation officers, who I hope form the nucleus of this gathering. You have problems that are distressing and perplexing with the moral or immoral conditions of the neighborhoods in which you work, of the delinquent that drags down the family you are trying to uplift. Have you thought of the great reservoir of power and influence and helpfulness that is lying at your hands if, instead of thinking of these immigrants as impotent or useless or negligible in these social situations you are trying to solve, you stop thinking of them in that way and think of them as possible partners and co-operators; realize that if you are going to get help from them it will never come as long as you are going to keep them in the position of mere acquiescers or imitators or recipients, and you in the position of benefactor or dictator or prescriber; that these immigrants, after all, are so fundamentally American in their institutions and temperaments that, except as you respect this Americanism in them, you will never get them to help you in making America a still better America? The whole point can be summed up thus: We can make the best Americans out of the new Americans by being true to the best that there is in America. (Applause.)

Judge Brown: Was not that brilliantly simple? It brought the subject right home to every one of us. I do not know of any class of people, working with the people, that can do more than the probation officers attached to our courts,

if they follow these suggestions and understand those among whom they are working. This thought came from a man that walked on earth with the people, and it means, "Put yourselves in their places in order to help them the better to accomplish something for themselves."

Mr. Burns hoped that this might be a discussion. We are going to ask some of you to say a few words if you care to, not talking more than three to five minutes. We would like very much to hear from Mr. Edwin Emmet Bach, Chief of the Americanization Department of the State Commission of Public Welfare.

Mr. Bach: I am quite sure that I could not say a word in addition to what Mr. Burns has said so beautifully. I can only say that I agree with him in every respect. When you take into consideration that he has made a study of this entire problem throughout the United States, you must conclude that he should be an authority upon the subject. I have the honor of saying to you, however, that there is to be an Americanization program in Pennsylvania and that there are certain things which we will ask you to do. But I may say that if you keep on doing what you are doing, you will be furthering Americanization work, as I understand it. The Welfare Commission of the State has determined that the Americanization program of Pennsylvania shall be given to the Department of Public Instruction in Pennsylvania, and that in this way there will be back of the entire program the great public school system. This does not mean that it is to be a schoolmaster's job. We are not forgetting in any way whatever the large interpretation of Americanization which Mr. Burns gave you this afternoon, and if I had time to give you a detailed outline of the program you would understand what I mean. But I am not going to intrude upon your time. I simply want to say that at the present time it will be our purpose to coordinate all agencies throughout the great State of Pennsylvania in carrying forward the great Americanization program, and it is also our purpose to conserve the activities of the great women's organizations in the State that played such a wonderful part in the war program, together with social organizations, the church organizations, the educational institutions and

the industrial institutions as well. There will be a co-relating of all these activities with the one great purpose in view of having our new Americans become such men and women as Mr. Burns wants them to be, and, I am sure, as all the rest of us want them to be.

Judge Brown invited Doctor Louis Nusbaum, Associate Superintendent of Public Schools of Philadelphia, to take part in the discussion.

Doctor Nusbaum: Mr. Chairman and President: There really is not much more to be said after what has been said by Mr. Burns. But this audience is not altogether composed of probation officers. There are some teachers here, and for the benefit of those Philadelphia teachers who are engaged in this Americanization work, I want to take the liberty of re-emphasizing some of the points which Mr. Burns has made. The first and most important of them, as I see it, is that Americanization is not a process which can be imposed on any group by any other group, that it is not a process of welding one to another, but a process of fusion. We get out of our organization work a result which in science would be a chemical combination, not a physical mixture. That chemical combination means that each element reacts upon and modifies the other. That is the kind of thing which we want to have in mind in our Americanization work in our schools. I do not believe that we have any justification for asking foreigners to come into our evening school classes with the assumption on our part that we know what is the only thing for these people to do and that we are going to make them just as like ourselves as we can. We can in many ways modify our own attitude towards public affairs through our combination with these groups which are to be Americanized. I do not stop in our school work with the thought that we have to Americanize foreigners. I feel that we have a great piece of Americanization work to do among so-called Americans. (Applause.) I am not absolutely sure before we start a new teacher to work in our public evening school on this program, that I should not very often take that teacher into my office and begin first by Americanizing the teacher who is going to Americanize the

foreigner. By that I do not mean that our teachers are ignorant of the ideals that we have in mind, but very often the school teacher is prone to feel that he is the monarch of all he surveys, that there is not anything else to do but to tell these people what to do. That is not Americanization. That is autocracy in the worst sense of the word, and if these people who come to us are to be Americanized, we have to democratize them by being one of them, if we are the teacher.

It would be interesting probably to Mr. Burns, and undoubtedly to a large part of this audience, to know that this experiment with the Garment Workers' Union which has been carried on in New York for the last six or seven years is in the second year in the Philadelphia public schools. We have classes of this exact type working in two of our high schools, the South Philadelphia High School and the William Penn High School. It is absolutely a mutual arrangement. These people come to school and they have some of their own instructors. They ask us to provide some of our instructors, and altogether we feel as though there is coming from that a fine piece of Americanization work. When the idea was first broached to me, something over a year and a half ago, I looked on the matter with a great deal of suspicion. I hesitated at the idea of a shirtwaist makers' union, consisting of at least 95 per cent. foreign-born, wanting to have special privileges in the public schools, wanting to select their teachers, wanting to select their courses. It looked very bad to me. The person that brought it to my attention was the Chairman of the Americanization Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, and I want to say that he is a very liberal, broad-minded citizen of Philadelphia, whose interest has been heart and soul in this Americanization work—Mr. Walter P. Miller. Mr. Miller agreed with me that this did not look like a good proposition. Fortunately, however—and here again is what I mean when I say we have lots to learn from the people whom we are Americanizing—fortunately they knew more about how to handle a situation of this kind than we Americans did, and they stuck to their job of convincing us that they were right. They asked if I would attend a conference of their group; they had brought here the people who had established the classes in New York. Still I was suspicious with

Bolshevism in the air, as it was at that time before the war had concluded. I said frankly to these people in this conference of half a dozen folks, "What assurance have we that when your groups get together in these high school classes, we are not going to have our school system in a great uprising of incendiary speech-making and red flag waving?" Their answer was so simple that it was surprising to me that I had not perceived it before I asked the question. They said, "You have the whole proposition in your own hands. We are asking you to do this because we want to get certain things out of the public schools. Our people know that if they violate any pledges, if they violate any confidence that you place in them, the next night they are out on the street." I said, "That is sufficient guarantee for me." But the trouble was that I was not sure that it was sufficient guarantee for everybody else concerned. In these troublous days in the school system—and I am going to let you into a secret—I did not even dare to broach the matter to the officers of the Board of Education. I said, "I will take a chance and let this class go in there." Let me tell you that at the end of a year of this kind, and now again at the end of the second term, the two schools report to me that they have never had any more loyal, more willing and more earnest sets of pupils than they had in these shirt waist makers' union classes we established.

My point of view is simply this: If there is danger to our democracy from the infusion of outside elements, what better place than the public school can there be to train these people in the way they should go? And I do not say in the way we *think* they should go, but we actually should give them the kind of training which the American public school stands for, and if we cannot in some way bring about a better understanding of Americanization and American institutions and ideals, we have not been a success in our public school work. The only regret that I have in our school work with regard to Americanization is that we cannot get them in in the numbers we would like to have, and to that extent we would like to call upon everybody who has any part to do in this social work program in Philadelphia, to send these people to school, and I think that I can assure them after they get there they will be given the kind of instruction they want.

Mr. Casimir A. Sienkiewicz (Associate Director Savings Division, Third Federal Reserve District). Ladies and Gentlemen: In view of what has already been said on the subject, I can hardly add anything that will be new and illuminating. With your permission, however, I might do no better than express a view on the subject of Americanization of one who was born on the other side and who is now an American in spirit and deed.

The theme under discussion is broad and varied. It has many aspects of psychological, political, social and economic nature. A student of Americanization is often confused by the conflicting views and ideas as to how to make the foreign born 100 per cent. American. At times I feel that there is too much theoretical material on the subject. There are too many books written by men who have a hazy conception of the nature and characteristics of our newcomers. Of course, if we could find some fixed formula as in algebra or physics, we would just apply it and have the whole matter settled. But that is not the case. We have got to deal with human beings—beings of feelings and emotions, of different conventions, tongues and habits. Therein lies the difficulty. Two well intentioned women may indulge in a stirring dispute as to whether the foreign born should be Americanized in this way or that, or whether they should be sent out of this country summarily, and such an airing of the subject may be a good tonic for their minds and hearts. But until they recognize certain positive factors in the premises, this course (as actually happened on the street the other day) will result in confusion and prejudice. It is neither sound nor wise.

The first of these factors is to cultivate a sympathetic point of view. A foreign born thrust in the whirlpool of strange surroundings is very sensitive to its reaction. He can detect derision and antipathetic attitude very easily, and that may estrange him in a material way. Personally, I deeply appreciate the difficulty of understanding one another's point of view. Another's point of view and toleration seem to be great inherent weaknesses of us mortals. This reminds me of a story of two Irishmen, who one Sunday afternoon found themselves on the long, winding road in the country. As each tried to out-talk the other, a Protestant minister, who

was a sportsman, was racing on horseback. Stricken by consternation, Pat said to Mike, "That minister will be damned, he will! He is desecrating the Sabbath day. He is racing on Sunday instead of being in church." Mike nodded his hearty approval and they continued to stroll on. A few minutes later a Roman Catholic priest whirled by in a sportsman-like manner. Pat looked at him, and, with a beaming smile, exclaimed, "Look at that holy father, he can't ride fast enough to get to church in time," and Mike heartily approved this version. Therein lies the obvious moral of giving a suitable interpretation to a thing that is susceptible to one meaning, namely, good sportsmanship.

Confidence is another element that is to be fostered. I feel safe in saying that more foreign-born men and women, as well as the cause of Americanism, have suffered from the lack of confidence, or breach of confidence, than is generally appreciated. So-called bankers, pettifoggers and all kinds of agents found, even among their own countrymen, have not played their part fair, and outwitted the foreign born out of their money and other possessions. It is a regrettable fact that such things have been tolerated. These newcomers generally are possessed of good-will and reverence for the Government. They may be unfortunate in their education, and this misfortune is the legacy that they carried away from the other side. Light has been too dazzling for the autocratic European rulers to foster. To keep the masses in ignorance and superstition, and to stir up the prejudices of one against the other, has been their business. This sad thing has been to the utmost detriment of these people. Then, when on top of it, comes the idea of taking advantage of them as soon as they land in this country and thereafter there can be no other result than suspicion and lack of confidence. Any man or woman in public or private life, who endeavors to restore and cultivate it, is contributing something tangible to the cause of making these people better Americans.

Then, again, a recognition of a positive value in the foreign born is vital to win him over to the ideas and ideals of this country. Constructive thought and action, rare as they may be, are greatly needed today. A foreign born essentially is not different from any other human being, and, like every-

body else, he likes to know once in a while that he is not so bad after all. The tirade of denunciations never establish or make for a bond of sympathy. We must point out to them the value of the good things in this country, and also the value of the things they can contribute to the sum total of our civilization. It may not be as sensational from an advertising point of view, but it certainly will make for the upbuilding of the nation. Good things are never as popular as the wicked, but I am one of those sane optimists, I hope, who believes that the element of good is greater in every human heart, including the foreign born, than the element of bad.

The lecturer of the afternoon referred a great deal to the contribution made by the foreign born to the Connecticut Valley, New England. I happen to have lived in that part of the country, and therefore know the absolute truth of his remarks. This valley is primarily populated by the Poles, who came from the other side at different times. For years they have been raising their onions, tobacco, corn and other farm products. A great many of them become wealthy. One of the directors in a savings institution in Northampton, Mass., told me that three-fourths of the bank's capital belongs to the Polish farmers in that vicinity. He said that they were good, law-abiding citizens, and made the valley a real success by the virtue of industry and thrift. Yet it is very aggravating to read such an account as is given by a venerable professor of Wisconsin University, who made a reckless tour through that section and then wrote a book. In this book he launched a vehement attack upon these immigrants because in some way they have invaded the old traditions of the New Englanders. They have cut down the old putrid trees, built new houses, perhaps according to the prevailing style, made new layouts for their farming, and so on. The truth of the matter is that these Poles have made out of the deserted and barren farms something that is highly productive and vital to the nation at this time. They may not have been able to write poetry, but they have proved that they were able to make two blades of grass grow in places where even one would not.

A rational, common-sense attitude toward the whole matter will do more in cementing fraternal feeling and relationship, and, therefore, Americanism, than the obscure maze of

theoretical speculations and pronouncements as to the goodness or wickedness of this man or that man. They are human beings and should be treated as such. They may appear uncouth, but, at the same time, it cannot be denied that they constitute a most powerful factor in production and in economical life generally.

I have mentioned only some of the things that are so difficult to realize, particularly at this time. Clear and earnest thought and calm judgment, especially on the part of responsible citizens, are more needed today than ever before. In the complexity of things we are apt to lose sight of those simple realities, such as sympathy, confidence, hope and kindliness, that make for the unity and permanence of peoples and nations. The revival of these simple virtues is not only desirable, but also indispensable to the faithful performance of our duties and maintenance of law and order.

In closing my remarks, may I restate some of the remedial suggestions that are not new, but it would not be amiss to re-emphasize them.

Among the various agencies working for the assimilation of the foreign born, our public schools constitute one of the most, if not the most, important factors in the whole matter. I am a strong advocate of the public school system of education. In the enlightenment and unity of this country our public schools will determine the success or failure of the democratic institutions. They are the grinding mills wherein rough material may be hewed and crystallized into a polished and enlightened citizenship. Therein the children of the foreign born are being made and will be made the true ambassadors and torch-bearers of the ideas and ideals of the American institutions and civilization, and will carry them to their homes, to their fathers and mothers, whose past fortunes have conspired against them and denied them the privilege of freedom of education, independence and action. (Applause.)

In this country, or any other country, the knowledge and understanding of the common tongue are indispensable. In America every one should know the English language, and the public schools, with the proper system of teaching it, can make an inestimable contribution on this point. I know of a certain school offering prizes for the best essays on thrift. The chil-

dren of the foreign born took part in the contest and many of them won a prize. An Italian boy, greatly elated by his success, read the whole essay to his parents, and, when they did not understand the whole of it, he had to explain it in half English and half Italian. When the child got through with this sort of ordeal, the mother exclaimed in Italian, "Dear Tony, that's wonderful. I wish daddy and I could talk English as you do. Is there any school for us grown-ups where we can learn how to talk English?" Crude as this illustration may be, it shows the influence of the public schools, which have been transmitted to the homes of the foreign born through their boys and girls, who are on their way of becoming dutiful and enthusiastic Americans. Our public schools, therefore, should take every opportunity to provide the best system of education they possibly can, for, once instilled into the hearts and minds of these children of the foreign born, who are potential Americans, it will further the movement of Americanization in a practical and constructive way.

Our courts, where justice is administered, offer another agency for the upbuilding of Americanization. Courts are just as important as the banks. Money lost through the failure of a banking institution is just as painful as is the unredressed wrong or perverted justice. A foreign born may have an exalted idea of the President, Governor and Senator, but in the presence of a policeman his fancy shrinks. The reality of the club presents a different meaning. If it is wrongly used it stirs up bitter feelings. A court that administers justice as it should be administered, does just as much for the cause of Americanization as the school. A short time ago a man came to me with a tale of woe of a widow who lived next door to him. He wanted to help her all he could, but the case called for more than his ability and resource vouchsafed. He asked me for advice, so I took the liberty of sending him to one of Judge Brown's probation officers and told him to tell the widow's tale to the officer with the same simplicity and realism as he told it to me. And so he departed. A week or two later the same man stopped at our office and told me that the man of the city courts was a real friend, and that the widow and her children were well taken care of, and that her life was made sweeter. I have no doubt that this man, as

well as the widow, told many friends of the genuine hospitality and the spirit of service that he found in this judicial institution, and he did it with a sense of comparison with the practices and abuses of the Russian, German and Austrian courts. In short, he, the widow and her children became so much more attached not only to the idea of justice of the American courts, but also to its institutions at large. That is a very practical way of building up our citizenship out of the foreign born.

The third important field of Americanization is found in industry. The relationship between the employer and the employe is a very tangible and real thing. The very bread and butter depends upon it. Only yesterday I had the privilege of addressing a large body of foreign-born workers in one of the plants in Camden, N. J. It was one of the most attentive and appreciative audiences I have ever faced. The subject of citizenship was emphasized. Following the meeting a great many of them took out their first papers, and a great majority of them joined classes in English and civics. In talking with the President and other officers of the corporation I found that they have never experienced any trouble in their shop. "Each one of us is playing his fair part. We believe in a square deal. The problem of Bolshevism is unknown to us," said the President of the company. "We have the Poles and Italians, and we are all like one family with a very fraternal feeling among us. We conduct welfare work, and from now on will start a regular Educational Department." This experience is also confirmed by Mr. Vauclain, President of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, in his speech recently delivered at the Contemporary Club.

The spirit of fairness, service and co-operation cannot be over-emphasized by any employer or employe. It is the only way of getting along today. Many prejudices, ill-feeling and noxious problems can be gotten rid of in this humane way. In short, the method of winning the newcomers over to the principles of our institutions is just as important in industry as it is in our courtrooms and schoolrooms.

Different existing social agencies and welfare organizations, as well as many others, organized for the purpose of promoting the cause of Americanization, should take heed of

all those ways and means which are practical and sympathetic to the solution of the problem. A social worker at times may fall short of what may be called humanizing influence. A girl may graduate from a college and her ambition may be to reform some young man. The intention of such an aspiration is commendable, though it may often be misunderstood by the party to be reformed. It may also present some difficulties that may not be fully appreciated by a novice. Social workers must bear in mind particularly that they are dealing primarily with human beings, as I stated before, and that these human beings are possessed of certain ambition, pride and temperament, which cannot be readily ignored. If we could only put ourselves in the place of others and see ourselves as we really are, things would be quite different from what they seem. To bring about a state of society wherein we can blend various elements in such a way as to produce one element as a basis of all the good desired, we would then be approaching something of an ideal. However, as they are now, it seems best to recognize the grim reality and fashion our methods in dealing with it in the most rational way possible. I, for one, am ready and willing to consecrate my services to the spreading and strengthening of those ideas and ideals upon which the institutions of this country have been founded, and which are the lasting foundation for their perpetuation. (Applause.)

Mr. Fred A. Moore (Director, Community Service): I feel that the hour has come when we all want to adjourn, therefore, I am not going to indulge in a relation of some of the ideas and experiences we are all so enthusiastic about in Mr. Burns' address. I am sure that he has made Americanization an honorable word, whereas, from some points of view, it has been tainted with dishonor; because he has made us feel that it is not a word to be applied to one group in our midst only, but it is for all of us, and it is for all of us to share in the splendid process of instilling into us all the spirit of our own America. (Applause.)

Mr. John Grolle (Association of Philadelphia Settlements): Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen: In order to do effective Americanization work, we should fully realize

the essential factors that make Americanization possible, and we should be convinced that Americanization is divided into three major parts: The American; The Foreign, and the Individual.

To begin with the first, we should consider the American part as comprising American ideals, American environment and American citizenship. The Foreign part represents Old Country experiences, the traditions and conditions of the Home Country, training or lack of training and reasons for coming to America. The third part represents the individual and collective reaction of the individual or group, who as Americans, judge the old by the new and, as Foreigners, judge the new by the old.

The interest that is being taken in the problem of Americanization is a timely one, as it deals with the very essence of the future of our Country as far as it concerns the assimilation of the individuals that have come to us and if we want to make assimilation desirable, we should examine what we have to offer to the newcomers in order to make assimilation easy, natural, desirable and profitable.

It seems that the beginning of this process of assimilation rests with the American people. They should be educated in such a way as to have a clear understanding of what is meant by the terms American Opportunity and American Democracy, so that they can judge for themselves the share our immigrants get of the gifts of Opportunity and Democracy the fathers of this country gave us. It is essential that the American people should know how the actual conditions of his environment affect the immigrant, such as housing, recreation, etc. They also should have a practical knowledge of the economic, political, judicial and industrial conditions the immigrant meets, and after comparing facts with sensible standards, they should, as a people, either correct conditions or extend the fields of opportunity. They should look upon America as a seed-bed, that they as Americans have to keep prepared, in order to receive and cultivate the seed of the ever-becoming America,—the seed which is the Future Citizen.

The second step in Americanization deals with the seed—The Immigrant. It is of the greatest importance for the American citizen to realize that, as a rule, the immigrant comes to us

for the same reasons that the forefathers have come—to better himself. In the immigrant, history is repeating itself, as every citizen should realize if he examines his own family record. The immigrant comes either for material, religious or patriotic reasons, but, whatever the reasons for his coming, they are chiefly self-interest.

Now, if we want to do real Americanization work, we Americans should make sure that the immigrant *can* better himself and that the conditions of the new environment outweigh the experiences of the old. The American field of opportunity should offer, not only material gain, but it should include the real Brotherhood true Democracy expresses. The conception of this democratic ideal will bring us American citizens to the third phase of Americanization,—actual contact between the American and the foreigner.

Relationship between human beings is not an academic subject. Neither is it a matter that can be treated by beautifully written editorials or paid workers only. It is a living force between individuals or groups. Native citizen and foreigner must come together. The American must learn to see through actual contact the point of view of the foreigner and teach him through square dealing and democratic conduct American ideals, so that he helps the foreigner in getting the real vision of American Democracy. He should live, work and play with the foreigner, so that he will learn to realize what the foreigner has to offer and he should meet him with a sense of gratitude for what the foreigner has done for our country, so that, in turn, the immigrant may find himself at home and welcome in his new environment and learn to understand the part he is taking in the creation of the new country.

Americanization is a mutual problem, which is to be solved by native and foreigner, but the chief factor in the process is the American. The farmer must prepare the soil, he must make conditions for growth as ideal and practical as possible. Then the seed can grow.

The great task before us is to make America the greatest country in the world—the Country of Peoples. And, if we attend to this task, we will make Americanization and Assimilation the natural outgrowth of the desire to understand and to

work for the American field of opportunity and to live the ideals of American Democracy.

There is nothing in the world like being natural. Whether a man is from Bombay, India, or from Kankakee, Illinois, he is just a human being, who understands human relationships, and to this there is no barrier when the same language is spoken.

There are many agencies which seek to Americanize the foreign speaking people living in our country. They are worthy and accomplish much that is leading toward our aspirations for a one language country, but it would seem that to Industry is given the desired avenue of approach to our foreign-born, in a measure not exceeded by any other group or organization.

Education in Industry is a natural process. The employed foreign born requires the use of the English language in order to secure a better knowledge of his work, which naturally leads to advancement and a better position.

Industry naturally wishes to aid the employe in securing to himself the education which will make him more efficient, careful and alert, because it reduces the overhead charges, and decreases liability insurance; it increases output and gives to the world a greater production, which is so needed at this particular time.

In fact, one great problem before Industry today is to secure the intelligent co-operation of every one of its co-workers, whether foreign or native born.

We are considering the foreign born because of his various handicaps, coming from countries where the old world influence was one of fear and insecurity, and living in this country with people of one nationality and one language, in groups that are foreign to American life and manners. They are hedged in to their serious detriment.

The majority of these people are faithful and loyal, but susceptible to the influences that are brought to bear upon them most directly, and those influences of late have been evil.

The Radical, the Red, the I. W. W., the Bolshevik, have all sought them as their prey. They have talked to them in their own language, they have addressed them through their foreign language newspapers, and rained incendiary pamphlets on them, till they are saturated with their doctrines.

When Industry makes it plain to the foreign-born workers that it is willing to help them enjoy the opportunities that this country affords, and assist them in getting the elementary instruction which leads to a broader knowledge, there is bound to be a response which will make for this country loyal and right living citizens.

The Radical is bound to lose caste, and will seek other fields, let us hope, while America grows into that unity which will make our Nation the great Power to which other nations will look for courage and hope, in the emerging of their states into the Democracy which the world will eventually recognize.

Judge Brown: I again want to thank Mr. Burns for this opportunity we have had of education this afternoon and of a better understanding of our opportunities to make assets out of new Americans, produce individuals for the welfare of the world, instead of liabilities. You can best do that if you follow the lesson that has been so forcefully given to you today, and go among the people and understand them, and let them help themselves. The greatest pleasure in the world is to teach some one how to help himself. (Applause.)

PUBLIC SERVICE ADDRESSES

SERIES 1919-1920 - - - - No. 5

"The Community's Responsibility for Safeguarding Girls"

Address delivered by

Maude E. Miner

Under the auspices of the

EDUCATIONAL DEP'T OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT

Philadelphia, Pa.

ADDRESS

Delivered by

MAUDE E. MINER

"The Community's Responsibility for Safeguarding Girls"

Under the auspices of the

EDUCATIONAL DEP'T OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT

"THE COMMUNITY'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR SAFEGUARDING GIRLS"

Address by Miss Maude E. Miner, Secretary of the New York Probation and Protective Association, given under the auspices of the Educational Department of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, on Friday, February 6, 1920, in Room 676, City Hall, at 4 P. M.

Judge Brown: This is the fifth meeting we have had in this series for the purpose of gathering further information to enable us in this court and those doing social work, dealing with the people, to be better informed in order that we may be more effective. It is very gratifying to find that so many of you are here on such an inclement day, and it is exceedingly fine that the speaker of today should come all the way from New York to address you. Every speaker that we have had thus far has been worth while in affording an enlargement of your view of the work which you have been called upon to do. Today we have a woman who is going to talk to you upon a subject that she knows a great deal about from her own experience in the city of New York and with Government work, the Responsibility of the Community to Protect Its Girls. The talk will be by a woman from a woman's viewpoint. She has had very wide experience, as I have stated. The Government has had very much profit from her services, and she is the Chairman of the National Probation Association, that we hope is going to see that real social work is being done in every hamlet of this country.

It gives me a great deal of pleasure today to have this speaker here, to be able to introduce to you Miss Maude E. Miner, who will address you this afternoon. (Applause.)

ADDRESS

Miss Miner: Judge Brown and Friends: It is a privilege to come to Philadelphia, and I am glad to see such a large crowd. I had wondered as I came over on the train and heard about traffic being so utterly paralyzed, if I would have the opportunity to speak to anyone. It is worth while for us to get together and talk over these problems that affect the girl, and I am sure that many of you who are doing social work in this city have just as much concern about seeing that no girl is in danger as in looking after those who actually come into court. We are hoping that during the next few years we will make greater progress than ever before in protecting and safeguarding the young girls of our cities.

Just the other night, when there was driving sleet and snow and it was very cold, a little Polish child, 13 years old, came to a private house, where we were having a meeting and discussing the problem of the runaway girl. After she had been brought in from the areaway, almost dazed and exhausted, she told her simple story. She had started out after 12 o'clock that morning on her way to the trade school, coming from Brooklyn to Manhattan. It was a special day and graduating exercises were being held for a number of the members of the school. Just before she came to the ferry, crossing through a side street, she was accosted by a man, who pushed her into an automobile. She knew nothing further until she regained consciousness in Manhattan and was in a room with the door locked. She escaped through the basement window and came to the house where we were having this meeting. It is an unusual story. There are comparatively few of these young girls who are held against their will, who are, as was this girl, criminally assaulted without knowledge of the circumstances or the facts. At the same time that incident does bring very vividly to our attention this problem of the young girl, the daughter of the poor, who has little

protection and who is either exploited by force or surrounded with such vicious influences that she drifts easily into trouble. And the question comes to us, what can we do to prevent young girls from suffering such a wretched fate? What can we do to safeguard more of these little ones of our city? We realize that not one child is safe as long as these children are exploited.

We had two thousand runaway girls reported to our Missing Persons' Bureau in the Police Department last year. These are the girls who later constitute a large group of the young women who drift into prostitution and into courts. How many of these runaways did you have reported to your Police Department last year? We had quite a number who ran away from New York to Philadelphia and others who came from Philadelphia to New York City, so that we know that you have them. We had one brought to our Waverley House a short time ago. That girl had left her home in Philadelphia after 11 o'clock at night. She had climbed out of the window and had taken the train to New York. Why? Because she did not like her stepmother, because she did not like the discipline at home. She was unhappy at home and she was also looking for some excitement, some light, some brightness. A girl whom she met in a moving-picture theatre the next day after her arrival in New York promised to help her to go on the stage and taught her how to pick up men who would take her to theatres. The night one of our protective officers found her, she was in serious danger. Instead of being eighteen years old, as she claimed at first, we learned, upon telegraphing to her parents, that she was only fourteen years of age. After realizing the seriousness of the situation and her fortunate escape, she decided that home was the very best place and that she would return to Philadelphia.

While conditions at home are most often responsible for the girls running away, it is occasionally the desire for adventure or to see the big city, a longing for self-expression, or the desire to make their way in the world and do something worth while. One of the girls who ran away from Philadelphia said: "I wrote to Geraldine Farrar and told her I wanted to get on the opera stage. I waited for a week, and, when I didn't get any reply, I just came to see for myself." That

is what many girls do. They think they have special ability or talent, and they try to make their way in the big city.

We have found that the mental make-up of the girl herself and her lack of ability to adjust herself to her environment are important factors in bringing her into court for incorrigibility and in causing her to run away from home and to take the first immoral step. Then there are the girls who are victims of exploiters or procurers or vicious men who are making profits from vice.

What is the problem, as we see it, in a city like Philadelphia or New York, with a procession of girls and women passing through the courts? What are we doing for them? It is a pleasure to come to Philadelphia and to talk with your workers, because of the advanced work that you are doing for delinquents. I desire to pay tribute to the work and the workers here for the splendid progress that has been made in dealing with women delinquents and in establishing a place of detention, which stands out as the very best I know for older girls and women.

In your House of Detention you have what so many cities lack, provision for segregating different classes of offenders. You have one grade of offenders on one floor and one on another. The older and more hardened offender does not come in contact with the incorrigible girl. It would be still better if you had single rooms instead of dormitories for the older women and if no girls were detained for any offenses in jails. It is a grave question whether that incorrigible girl, unless she is really a delinquent girl, should be in a place of detention or should come into any court. Many of these young people can be dealt with quite apart from official houses of detention, provided there are sufficient social agencies and workers who understand and care for them. It only means doing good case work for them before they ever come to a jail or house of detention. You have in your House of Detention provision for mental examination of women. You have physical examinations and provision for adequate medical care. You have social investigations reaching into the homes of the women. It means a great deal to have a social investigation and a mental and physical examination of every woman. After that, treatment can be based on understand-

ing of needs. Such work requires experts, people of real ability, to get the confidence of the girl and to give personal attention in helping her to get along in the world apart from a reformatory or training school. It has a wonderful effect upon a girl when she realizes that the person who is dealing with her really cares and wants to do something for her.

The study of the individual and the basing of treatment on complete understanding of needs is fundamental. It is the same work, whether performed by a probation officer who tries to understand a girl who comes into the House of Detention or a court, or by a protective officer who deals with a girl who has not come to court, but who is in very great moral danger. It is the same thing that the worker in a charitable society does when she diagnoses the situation and tries to solve the problem of the family or the individual. It consists in first understanding the needs and then planning, on the basis of that understanding, a constructive program for helping the individual in the future.

One of the most important methods of dealing with delinquents is probation. I know that even with good probation work and careful selection of probationers, it is not possible to save a large percentage of the women who come into court. Many of them are far too demoralized to be helped by probation, but it is possible for some to get a new start in this way. I think of one girl who came to us ten years ago. She had been kept against her will in a disorderly place in New York City, to which she had been brought by a man from Illinois. She had expected to marry that man, and he had taken her first to Chicago and then to New York when summoned by telegraph, ostensibly for business purposes. It was only a means of placing her in a life of prostitution and taking her money, the proceeds of professional immorality. After the procurer was sentenced to Sing Sing, that girl went back to her home in Illinois. She worked in a nearby city for three or four years, and, later, when she confided that she was very anxious to go back to school, she was given the opportunity to do so. She has been in school for three years, and during the third year earned all of her expenses by teaching part of the time in the school. The first year she earned part of her expenses by doing household work. This year she entered

college and she is one of the finest girls whom you would care to meet. "Impossible," some may think, "for such a girl with such a life behind her to make her way so splendidly." And yet it is not impossible. It does depend, however, upon the amount of effort spent by the girl herself, upon the ability of the worker to help her to realize her desires, and upon the extent to which she can be helped to blot out the past from her mind and see that it is worth while to go ahead and that it is possible to succeed. While comparatively few probationers make such unusual progress, intellectually and spiritually, as this girl has done, many go into factories and stores and other places of employment and do make good. Others cannot be helped by probation and need to be sent to training schools and reformatories.

Training schools are necessary and Pennsylvania has a State training school for younger girls at Sleighton Farm. But what about the girl who is past eighteen years of age? What of the girl who is nineteen or twenty? What is done to get her away from the past and give her a chance in the future? When it comes to committing those girls, you find there are not suitable places to which you would like to have them sent. We find there are still limitations in all institutions and we read in the newspapers of difficulties in reformatories. Doubtless, you have been reading of the recent difficulties in Bedford Reformatory in New York State. The problem has arisen there chiefly because of the mingling of many different kinds of women and the lack of segregation. The Bureau of Social Hygiene maintained for a time a psychopathic hospital at Bedford Reformatory, and had provision for the study and treatment of those who were psychopathic and mentally abnormal. With the failure of the State to take over that work, all of those women were thrown back into the general population of the reformatory, with no segregation of the psychopathic girls and others with definite mental difficulties. It is to be expected that difficulties in discipline would be increased among girls who are so unstable mentally and emotionally. Adequate classification and facilities for segregation of those who are most difficult are necessary in such an institution.

I was very glad to learn today that your House of Correction, under the Department of Public Welfare, will do increased reformative work. If you can make this House of Correction a real reformatory, you will have the opportunity to do something very definite and worth while for many of these older women. You also need the State Reformatory for Women, which has not yet been opened, where there is chance for industrial and out-of-door work. The younger women ought to have a chance for training apart from the older and more hardened offenders.

An institution for the feeble-minded is another requisite in dealing with delinquents. It takes care of some who come into courts and others who do not come into courts, but who need to be segregated because of mental deficiency. I often think of the fact that if society were what it ought to be, we would not need institutions for feeble-minded girls. They would be safe in society if they were not preyed upon by men. It is worth while to know the percentage of delinquent women who are mentally defective and to use that knowledge as a basis for securing provision for defective delinquents, and also much additional provision for defectives who are potential delinquents. I wonder if the results of the mental examinations of this group of women offenders have been assembled right here in your State to make the demand effective for increased provision for the feeble-minded. It is worth while to make additional investment in institutions for segregating feeble-minded, because they safeguard girls and women from lives of wretchedness in the future and help to lessen the number of feeble-minded children.

We need the careful sifting process in a House of Detention combined with a court for women; we need sound probation work; we need the reformatory and the training school; we need the institution for defectives. We do not need and should not tolerate any system of fines or short-term sentences to prison. This fact has been recognized in some cities, but fines are still imposed in many courts, and serve practically to license prostitution.

In dealing with delinquents in court, much depends upon the probation officer. Something, of course, depends upon the judge in selecting the right kind of persons for probation,

but a probation officer often aids in the selection through recommendations based on investigations. It depends, however, upon the probation officer as to whether something effective is done for a woman or girl, and the probation system is just as strong as the men and women who are doing that work, no stronger. And the reformatory is not any stronger than the personalities who are at work in the institution. It is not a method that is going to save people; it is not fine tools or fine equipment. It is the men and women who really care, who do the work with individuals in such a way that they get underneath the surface and make them see that there is still something in life, who help them to make their way in the future with more hope and greater opportunity. And so the spiritual side of the work of a probation officer, the getting at the soul of the person, is one of the biggest things that probation officers or other social workers have to do. The personal work of a probation officer in affecting the character of life of the probationer is the most vital thing, and if we are going to have the kind of work in the future that really counts, we must have more strong men and women coming into probation work. The training of more probation officers is very important at the present time. There is big demand throughout the country for trained workers with delinquent women. I speak of women, but I am sure there is the same demand for trained men who will deal effectively with delinquent men. There is a very big demand and a very limited supply. I was delighted when I heard that the Municipal Court is giving opportunities and facilities for increased training of probation officers in this city. Those of us who are engaged in any part of this work ought to take more time and effort to help bring into work with delinquents men and women who are capable of doing big work in the future. The work is here, and if we do not have a much larger number of people trained for it or preparing for it, we are not going to make the big strides that ought to be made in probation and reformative work.

There is also urgent necessity of working at this problem of delinquency on the side of prevention, and we should be more concerned about protective work. Some of us are trying very hard to safeguard and help girls before they come

to courts or prisons. I spoke of runaway girls. Runaways are one of the sources of supply to prostitution. Doubtless, you have a Bureau of Missing Persons in your Police Department. In connection with that bureau, who is actually going out to hunt the runaways? Who is finding them and taking them back to their homes? Who is following them up and befriending them after they go back to their homes and doing the same kind of work that the probation officer does with the delinquent girl who comes into court? Have you any policewomen at work on this problem? Do workers in your protective organizations go out and find the runaway? Do they work with the girl when she goes back to her home? I do not know the answers to all of these questions as far as Philadelphia is concerned. But I have had impressed upon me, as a result of dealing with several hundreds of these runaway girls each year in New York City, that this is one of the very serious problems, and that we ought to work at it much more energetically. Several years ago the New York Probation and Protective Association arranged with the Police Department in New York that officers would not arrest these runaway girls and take them into court, but would bring them to our Waverley House to remain for a short time while telegrams were being sent to their parents or relatives in other cities. That arrangement was the result of a report of flagrant instances of arresting girls who had not committed any offense. I remember one sixteen-year-old girl who ran away from her home in New Haven just to make enough money to help support the nine younger children in the family. She was grieved that her name had to remain on police and court and jail records. She has said to me many times as she has held her outspread hand before her eyes: "I can never get rid of the sight of those awful bars in front of my face." For several years the picture of those bars has stayed with her, as it must stay with any sensitive girl. She cannot get away from it, for it has been burned into her very soul. If you help a girl by sending her directly back to her home, or by holding her for a night or two in a temporary home, it is much better. It does not hurt her in the same way when she goes back. She does not have the stigma of court resting on her. She does not have to answer so many questions as to

why she was arrested. These runaway girls are a very definite responsibility, and I do wish we could get together in the different cities and solve this problem of the runaway girl, so that we can prevent her from coming into any kind of house of detention or jail or court, and so that in the future she will not run away from home.

Then there is the problem of the unadjusted girl. Those are the girls who have difficulties with stepmothers and stepfathers. They are the girls who are not happy at home, who are seeking a different life, who want a good time or more freedom or wider opportunity. In a different environment they work out satisfactorily. In a different class of society they would have been sent to a good boarding school and would never have entered the ranks of near-delinquents. What are we going to do with them? What do you do with them here? We find the question is a difficult one in New York. We have not adequate places where we can deal with these girls apart from delinquents. We have a number of these girls at our Hillcrest Farm in Connecticut, where for six to eight months they have opportunity for a normal, healthy, out-of-door life in a new and interesting environment. With wise and tactful guidance, difficult traits of character, such as stubbornness, wilfulness and violent temper, seem to disappear, and girls develop greater self-control, consideration for others and learn to do good teamwork.

There are also the unmarried mothers, who need special care not only for their own sakes, but for their children. Everything that is done to help and safeguard them and secure necessary support for the children born out of wedlock is of great service in lessening the number of young women who enter the ranks of prostitution. By caring for these children also, fewer will grow up in a vitiated atmosphere and demoralizing surroundings.

I could speak of other phases of protective work; for example, the welfare departments of industrial organizations, which need to be increased and strengthened very greatly. There is opportunity for close co-operation between these departments and protective agencies, which deal with girls who are on the brink of danger and will be in trouble unless something is done for them. Then there are the mentally defective

girls, who ought to be discovered in the public schools before they have a chance to get into the courts. There is also need of a good mental clinic for pre-delinquents and of use of such a clinic by social agencies. That should be quite apart from the mental clinic in the courts.

There is a very definite need of prosecuting men who exploit girls, in order to prevent more young women from getting into trouble. We do find that many young women are being exploited by men who are living on the profits of vice. Only last week in New York a man was convicted of compulsory prostitution in a case in which two young women were exploited—one a seventeen-year-old girl from Kentucky. That girl had married an officer and had gone to live near one of the training camps. When she had been married less than a year, her husband told her that he had only married her to spite another girl. She was utterly unhappy and wretched and came with a girl friend to New York in search of work. In the hotel where they stayed they met two men who promised them work, took them to theatres and soon placed them in a life of prostitution. One of the men escaped and left the jurisdiction of the court, forfeiting his bail. The other man was convicted and sentenced to a term of nine to eighteen years in prison. This was a very severe sentence. Until ten years ago, when the law was put on the statute books making compulsory prostitution a felony, such offenders were sentenced to six months in the workhouse. Police officers find it very difficult to get evidence in these cases, and, unless social organizations help in winning the confidence of complaining witnesses, in securing evidence and in bringing these cases to trial, there is little hope of conviction. Your probation officers here, I am sure, do a great deal in getting at the stories of girls who come into the courts and helping in the prosecution of these cases. There is a very great need, however, for doing still more to cut off the sources of supply to prostitution.

I speak very frankly of these things, because it is the only way in which we are ever going to solve the problem. Unless we can look the black facts in the face, we are not going to help our delinquent girls and prevent others from becoming delinquent. We must search more deeply for the underlying causes and for the factors which are in any way re-

sponsible and go to work at these causes. I see in the Municipal Court of Philadelphia one of the biggest opportunities for research work on the problem of delinquency. There is an appreciation of the value of records, of scientific work, and of individual work. Social organizations in this city would do well to utilize the results of such research in formulating a protective program. I believe that information which comes through an intensive study of delinquents will help more and more in solving these problems. We realize that vice can be lessened when energetic, active work is carried on in that direction. But we need to be constantly on the alert. The forces that make for vice and crime never stop, but too often the energy and the zeal of those who are concerned with improving moral conditions and protecting youth are diminished and are only aroused for a time through some revelation of a sensational character.

The sources of the stream must be purified. Everything that makes for bad social conditions in our cities must be grappled with. We must get better living conditions, deal more wisely with the housing problem, the recreation problem, and the question of industrial training and industrial efficiency. We must help to bridge the great gap between foreign-born parents and their American-born children, so that less wreckage will result in these homes and that the best in old world traditions may be conserved. We must recognize the needs of youth and make better provision for those needs.

It is significant that most of the girls who come into commercialized vice are the daughters of the poor. A little girl who lived in a part of the city where at the time there was a segregated district said: "But you know, the painted ladies are the only friends we've got." If children grow up in a vitiated atmosphere, if they know about the life in the underworld, they have not the same horror of it and the same feeling about it. We should give to every girl and to every boy, opportunity for the right kind of home environment, for moral teaching and training, for education and for good recreation. Youth must not rely upon commercial amusements as the only chance for expressing the joy of life. It must have resources for more normal and wholesome pleasures and wiser guidance in the use of leisure time. We must remember that these

young girls are the mothers of the future and these boys are the fathers of the future. What are we doing to safeguard them? What are we doing to make it impossible that those who are children today will not be in our courts ten or twenty years from now? What are we doing to make it possible that every boy and girl has a chance to grow up to be a useful and worth-while citizen? As we ask ourselves these questions, we recognize our great obligation to war unceasingly against commercialized vice, to help raise moral standards, and to so spread the gospel of protection that stronger character is developed and the defenses around youth are strengthened.

Judge Brown: I told you that we would be enlightened. I am sure that I was very much enlightened myself. Miss Miner received her degree of Doctor of Philosophy and the subject of her thesis was "The Slavery of Prostitution." It might serve you well if you were to secure it and read it.

What is it that makes her talk of this afternoon so worth while? What makes any person's talk worth while who addresses those whose business it is to deal with the people? Because she talked of the individual; not in mass, but the individual. She tells you that if you are going to do a piece of work that means anything at all, you have got to bring out of the individual the good that lies dormant, that has never been discovered. That is the only successful way to deal with the problem of humanity. To educate yourself you must bring out—not take in, but bring out—what is in your heart. That is what she has told you to do. Study the individual, find the circle of her or his environment, and then let your eye go over that environment and correct it in order to make the child's possibility worth anything in the world. There is not anything so worth while in life. The accumulation of money? No. But to do something that makes it possible for those with whom you are dealing to live a life of usefulness, and to brighten the future for some one that is coming

on—that is your mission. That is her subject here today. All the things that she tells you about, you have here with you.

We are going to have many opportunities in the very near future for helpfulness that we do not possess today along these lines, in the case of both boys and girls. We are going to have a much different institution at the House of Correction. That institution is going to be in a short time what was the concept of the man that created it, before the Constitution of 1872 was framed. Men of great social vision built an institution there with all the possibilities of correcting mistakes (and that is after all what they are). But it was allowed to grow into disuse and misuse, and to become merely a place in which to put people for three, six or nine months, with no thought of making them better when they come out. We will have in a short time the Muncy Institution, with an indeterminate sentence.

We know that girls run away from home, and boys do, too. But the great trouble about the girl is—and you women know much more about this than men—that if a girl makes a blunder she is ostracized from your homes. She has to seek her association or companionship among those who have done the same as she did; whereas, a man or a boy can repeat, and repeat, and repeat, and your doors are open, and he might meet your daughters, too. The double standard is maintained, and yet she is human, just as the boy is. We take boys that come into the city of Philadelphia, with all their visions of making a mark in life, coming from the smaller parts of the country, with their little bit of money they had to start out with. That fades away and they do not get a position. They go into a station house to get protection, and they get what? They are brought out the next morning, slated as vagrants—a vagrant under the law is a person that hasn't anything to do, hasn't any money to take care of himself—and sent up to the House of Correction. We take those boys and send them back home, or we get them employment. They go on and make success. Many of them made marks in the navy, in the army, in the aviation camps, in the war. How much good it does us when we realize that we have been able to reach down and help some person up until he could get hold of himself and go on!

I want to thank Doctor Miner for coming to Philadelphia, for giving to you the benefit of her vast experience. She does not talk to you in the bulk of the country's people, but her work has been such as to make her know that to succeed in it at all it must be looked at from the standpoint of the unit which makes society. When you correct the individual, the unit, you take a sore spot from society.

(To Doctor Miner.) On behalf of this wonderful gathering today, I thank you for coming here and giving us the benefit of your experience and learning. (Applause.)

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"CHILDREN AND RECONSTRUCTION"

Address delivered by

Owen R. Lovejoy

Under the auspices of the

EDUCATIONAL DEP'T OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT

Philadelphia, Pa.

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OWEN R. LOVEJOY

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"CHILDREN AND RECONSTRUCTION"

Address of Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, President of the National Conference of Social Work, given under the auspices of the Educational Department of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, on Friday, February 20, 1920, at 4 P. M., Room 676, City Hall.

JUDGE BROWN: I am glad to see so many people here today. This is the sixth lecture that we have had in this series for the instruction of the people in social work. Each one of the lectures has been a distinct lesson of its own to you, and today we have a gentleman who is the President of the National Conference of Social Workers, who has for years been Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee. He is an experienced man in work with children, and I know that we will be entertained and instructed by his remarks.

It gives me great pleasure to present to you Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, President of the National Conference of Social Workers.

ADDRESS

Mr. Lovejoy: Judge Brown, fellow citizens: I should like to congratulate Philadelphia on having a Court of this particular nature. It seems to me to indicate a changed attitude that is coming in our national life in relation to the judiciary departments of governments, both national and local. Up to the present time, for the most part, the private citizen has looked on the court as a remote and quite mysterious agency of a dominating government. We have looked on it a great deal as many people look on the kingdom of heaven, a thing to be prayed for, but to be avoided, to approach on one's knees, in the hope that its verdict will be postponed as long as possible. There exists a rather widespread impression that courts of justice have their eyes turned chiefly on precedents, looking backwards. It is not simply the poor man that feels that justice can be done for the rich and not for the poor, but those who have been frugal and prosperous, and who are attempting to use the accumulated wealth which their frugality and foresight may have enabled them to secure, have sometimes felt that they also were harassed and discouraged and frustrated in their socially minded plans. I suppose we should have to confess on analysis that in some parts of the country the courts have given abundant ground for suspicion. But here we have an organization, as I understand it, which is seeking to weave itself into the life of the municipality, to relate itself directly to the life of the people, not merely people who come into some peculiar kind of trouble, but people in their normal relationships; to be a part of the life of the city, and to express in terms of justice and equity those relations we all are seeking to have established as the universal relationships in human life.

I have been asked to speak today on children and reconstruction. It is well to consider from the outset that we are in the dawn of a new age. I mean this not in a rhetorical sense. Not only political experts and sociological experts, but students of the economics of life, realize that the world has changed during the past five years, and that a new situation has been created, and that it is utterly impossible to attempt to put the world back into the shell that cracked open in 1914. A situation has arisen calling for the application of new economic principles, or for a readjustment of our interpretation of old principles. We have become less insulated, less provincial. We recognize the relationship between various sections of our own country, and, if we have had our eyes open, we recognize the intimate relationship between nations. It is no longer possible even to dream of isolating ourselves from other countries and solving our own problems, regardless of the direction in which the rest of the world is moving. We are bound up together as parts of one great integer, and no part of the world henceforth can suffer without all parts suffering. No part can achieve really fundamental prosperity without all parts sharing in that prosperity. I suppose this is just a platitude, but as a foundation for what we want to discuss this afternoon it seems rather fundamental. In attempting to relate ourselves and our specific duty to these conditions of the new age, I suppose we would also agree that one of the most fruitful ways in which we can work is by an attempt to influence the next generation as it keeps coming on. I suppose most of you workers have had daily difficult problems of community life,—domestic relations, child care, etc. You know very well there is not much chance of changing us after we get along to middle life. We may have our good impulses, our resolutions, and wake up in the morning thinking we are going to be new men and women. As a matter of fact, we are not going to change very radically, some of us; we have gone on too far. Solidification has set in and our resolutions break down. About the only chance of making any radical change in society is by *catching them while they are young.* For this reason I feel intensely that those who are devoting themselves to an effort to improve the surroundings, the conditions, the opportunities, of child life here in Philadelphia, and in your

surrounding neighborhoods are tackling the problem of the future at its fountain head. You are attempting to achieve where there is the maximum possibility of accomplishing something. You are working with the maximum of encouragement and the minimum of discouragement when you are working on the child problem. By this I am not attempting to indicate that your work is easy, or your burden light. The problems are difficult. They become increasingly difficult as our social organism becomes increasingly complicated. The old conditions that were familiar to some of us in our childhood, in our little isolated communities, surrounded by a few friends, were simple compared with the surroundings of the average child in our own day. And as his surroundings become complicated, the problem of adjusting himself to those surroundings is increasingly complicated. The job is harder for him than it was for us, yet he starts out with about the same equipment we had, knowing nothing of the world, having to initiate himself into a new sphere, and discover a new and untried path. It is not an easy thing for him or for us to attempt to guide him, direct him, instruct him, encourage him.

It may be well, in discovering ways in which we can practically push forward the preparation of childhood for its duties by and by, to consider some of the conditions in other countries that have come out of this recent world convulsion. I need take none of your time this afternoon to rehearse the early events of this world war in relation to child life. That is already written in our history. There was a general breakdown of agencies and institutions that had for their purpose the care of child life. That was true in England, France, Italy, Russia, in all those warring countries. It was inevitable. They were called upon suddenly to adjust themselves to new tasks. They were aroused suddenly from national life to international complications. There seemed to be a more immediate demand upon almost every one than that of caring for the life of the children, so that practically all schools were dismissed. I think it was estimated that in the first year of the war in England alone something like 750,000 children were taken out of the schools and for the most part sent to work. Before they had gone through three years of their experience, a tremendous army of juveniles was working un-

der such conditions that a Parliamentary Committee on Munition Workers was compelled to issue an appeal to the country that children ought not to be permitted to work in munition factories to exceed twelve hours a day. We know that the twelve-hour day for child labor has been outlawed in England for fifty years. The law had not been repealed, but this new urgent condition had so undermined the law that it had been practically set aside.

This, I say, is familiar, but what is less familiar is the fact that in all those countries just named there had come a very sharp reaction, even before the war ended. You find some people still working on the theory that since England and France and the other countries neglected their children in the early days of the war, it is perfectly proper for us to neglect ours, because we are following the example of our Allies. The day we entered the war England was in the heat of an educational revolution such as never swept that country before. A bill was before Parliament, drafted by the Educational Committee, providing that every child in England, as fast as the machinery could be set up to take care of him, should be guaranteed full time schooling up to fourteen years of age. At fourteen he was not to be dropped as though he were finished and done on both sides, but during the next four years he was to be provided with a part time compulsory education, teaching him some handicraft, so that at eighteen years of age he could go out into the world with a reasonable prospect of being able to support himself. During that period, from fourteen years of age to eighteen, he was not to be employed for wages for more than three days a week. All the rest of his time spent in industry was to be spent as part of his educational equipment. Preparation for life was to be the desideratum. We did not know that when we went into the war. The same was true in France. They applied the restrictions to labor in industries, where they had never applied them before. They built up their schools again. They had nothing to build school houses with but their children and teachers. They had 70 to 80 per cent. of the normal school attendance in some of those devastated villages. They also recovered their poise and began to build up, under great difficulties, it is true, but with great earnestness, that which had been so lightly

thrown aside at the beginning. It was true in Italy and in Russia. I am not going to talk about Russia this afternoon. I understand that this is the room where they try murderers, and I have too much regard for my personal safety to discuss Russia. Furthermore, I am the only man in America who does not know all about Russia, except to say this. (I notice when a man says that he is not going to talk about Russia he always proceeds to do it.) According to the testimony of people who believe in the present Government in Russia, the so-called Soviet Republic, who believe it is the best experiment in popular government, who believe that when its wrinkles are ironed out it is going to be the great discovery in government; and, according to people who think exactly the opposite, that it is the one great terror that has come out of the war, who believe it is putting a blight on civilization and that unless it can be scotched our future is doomed, according to both its friends and its enemies, those who defend it and those who condemn it, they agree on one point, although they explain it in different ways. They agree that popular education has spread farther in Russia during the past two and a half years than it spread during the preceding hundred years under the rule of the Czars. Why? Is it because of this new dictatorship of the proletariat? That does not seem to explain it. It does not explain it in England. The same group is running the government there. It seems to me that a great English statesman during the war explained it in such a terse, graphic way that I must repeat it. He said, "We discovered that with our boys being destroyed in the trenches and our children by overwork on farms and in factories, we were burning the candle at both ends, and by and by we would have no resources." It was the rebound of humanity to common sense. It was the national instinct of self-preservation. They could not afford to destroy what they had gone into the war to save. And it was for that reason they were all appealing to us to keep on the solid ground that they were trying to occupy.

Such is the spirit that must prompt us in this new day. We have come to recognize the relationship of the individual citizen to his own government, both national and local, which many never recognized before. We took the privileges and the opportunities of American citizenship as a matter of course.

They were ours or we had come from abroad and adopted them. Now we are coming to recognize a reciprocal obligation. I believe one of the most beautiful of all the results of this new recognition of our obligation is going to be a closer intertwining of so-called private agencies engaged in various social and philanthropic enterprises, with the public servants chosen either by vote or by appointment to represent not any small group of people, but to represent the entire community, maintained by the tax payer, ultimately by the rent payer and by all the people. These public servants owe a duty because of that appointment to all the people, and have a right to claim from all the people sympathetic, critical, constructive co-operation.

In our attempt to concentrate our energies on child life, I have suggested "catching them while they are young." There are certain duties that seem to stand out pre-eminently. First, I would mention the duty of guaranteeing to every child a certain secure territory, an area of freedom, a field of seclusion, or separateness from the hazards and exactions of industry. Of course, before that comes the right of every child to be properly born and properly nourished and properly cared for during babyhood. You have had those subjects discussed, no doubt, in your conferences, but when the child comes to the point where he may presumably enter in as a part of our industrial mechanism, there is a very keen temptation on the part of those who will profit, directly or indirectly by his work, to thrust him out of his proper estate and into the industrial maelstrom. This must be guarded against. You are attempting to guard against it here in the State of Pennsylvania. You can guard against it still better by closer relationship between the public servants and private agencies that have taken up at one point or another the problem of safeguarding and of caring for child life.

I shall not discuss the details of certain improvements that would be advantageous in this, as in other commonwealths, for safeguarding the working child. I think these are already familiar to you. But I want to emphasize the fact that the industrial phase of child's life cannot stand out alone as unique and separate. The probation officer in the round of his duties needs to know about the home, needs to know

the child's industrial history. I am looking for the time when every child who comes before a Juvenile Court to be examined and dealt with shall have a complete record made not only of his education, but of his industrial history, so that we shall know from the time he went outside the door of his own home into this larger and more difficult world, and shall have a complete record of what he has been doing and what has been happening to him, that a fair diagnosis can be made. This has become increasingly the spirit and method of the organization I have had the privilege of serving for some years. Some of our people felt that if we could solve the problem of child labor in America we would be just on the threshold of the millennium. No part of a problem of that sort can be solved by itself.

May I illustrate the thought that I had in mind by a specific example, which is so far from you now that I can speak of it quite impersonally as to its place.

About two and a half years ago, as one of the rebounds in the awakened spirit of our American people, there came an appeal to us from the University of Alabama, the State Board of Health, State Child Labor Association, and other associations and agencies, to come down and make a study of the whole field of child care. It was precisely the kind of invitation we welcome, and a number of our people went down there and made a careful study of health, education, recreation and the rural child: why he was not in school, what happened to him when he was not, and why he was getting six weeks of schooling instead of six or eight or nine months; child labor, the Juvenile Court and juvenile delinquency, the problem of the defective and the neglected child; the wayward child—all these problems we attempted to coordinate in a state-wide study under the direction of certain experts, who were schooled in the particular problem they were to study. That was published in a volume of perhaps 150 pages. Without going into detail, let me tell you the legislative result that came out of the Legislature last June. First of all, a state-wide compulsory school attendance law: not the old-fashioned optional law, but a law with teeth in it, providing that every child in the state must go to school, no matter what his race or color. We never raised the race issue,

but we knew from the beginning if we could get a law of that kind through, the little negro child would get the same advantage as the white child, as soon as public interests could be mobilized to realize exactly what the new law meant. It meant that every child in the state must be in school, and every community must furnish a school fit for the child. Next, a statewide child labor law, with a fourteen-year minimum age limit; no employment in dangerous occupations under eighteen, and other features of a real, modern, twentieth century child labor law; a Juvenile Court system for the entire state, with a county supervisor in every county; a system of sanitary inspection and supervision in every county, with a man who should be trained and who could supervise the sanitary program for the childhood of the state; appropriations for institutions that were already established for the care of special groups of children, and appropriations for the establishment of new institutions where none existed. All of this came out of one legislative session. I submit to you that after two or three years of comparative discouragement all over the country, when things seemed to be going along the line of slackness and neglect, this was one of the most gratifying of all the rebounds in our country, and simply typifies what has been going on in Missouri, Michigan, North Carolina and other States. They were suddenly aroused.

If I may be permitted to interpret what seems to be fundamental in this sudden change of view on the part of the whole public, I think that it was partly due to the fact that the people suddenly became convinced that America faced an emergency, that we were in a crisis, just as England had realized a year or two before that they faced a crisis, and it had to be met by strenuous, heroic methods. If you can get the American people to recognize that they face a crisis, then you are all right. One of your duties as court officials and probation officers, visiting nurses and school teachers, and agents for various relief associations and child-caring associations here in the city is that of keeping the people of Philadelphia awake all the time to the fact that you face an emergency.

It has been the characteristic attitude of the American people for a good many years in relation to practically all

these matters,—millions for cure, but not a dollar for prevention. You know that is true in relation to public safety. I know of no city, for instance, that has ever passed a good fire law until after a school house, church, theatre, factory or store, or a lot of private homes were burned to the ground and destroyed. We waited until after that disaster came before it occurred to us that we, as a community, could dictate how a building should be put up, and where and how it should be constructed. We waited to have it demonstrated by the tragic result. After we had that demonstration there wasn't any difficulty in getting it through. It is the same with traffic laws.

It is the same with sanitary regulations, pure water, pure food. We used to have to be warned in our cities about the kind of water to be used, that we must boil it before we used it. Now we warn people when we go out into the country, because most of our cities have decimated their infantile population by feeding them dirty milk or making them drink impure water, until we have discovered that it is not the right thing to do, and we forbade it. We used to have our food exposed in front of little markets and groceries and other places so that the flies could crawl over it and survey it before we had a chance. But it occurred to us after diseases had spread and there was some sort of an epidemic that there wasn't any reason why we should give them a chance to get at that food before we did. It was perfectly easy after we got the thing going.

We had 71,000 children last week in New York City who had to be dismissed because there were no teachers. They are advertising for pinch-hitters to come in and save the situation until they can get reorganized. What is the trouble? We have not taken the matter of education, the development of our public school system, seriously. We have looked upon it casually. I am through talking about increasing teachers' salaries. I am talking about doubling them. Nothing less than that interests me. I am not a teacher, so I can speak disinterestedly about it. Unless we are willing to see the thing in a large way, start out with the process of doubling the compensation of those who are to teach our young, there isn't any hope for the school system for the next ten years.

Is it possible for us to make the people of this country, the people of this city, realize that you, in the specific task you are attempting to carry on, face an emergent situation? Let us see if there are some ways in which we can relate some of our recent experiences, because we have had a great awakening. We found, for instance, in the organization of military forces, that it was necessary to maintain certain sanitary standards for the men in the camp and in the field. I remember how surprised I was a couple of years ago when I was being shown through one of the large camps and they told me that great area, with all the big buildings and retorts and strange looking instruments, was the "delousing camp." I had never heard of a delousing camp, I did not know what it was. The Government recognized that cleanliness was a necessity in the army if the army was to be at its maximum efficiency. Has it ever occurred to you that man is essentially a filthy beast? I am not saying anything unpleasant. Look into ancient history, the primitive records of the race. One of the most outstanding characteristics of primitive man was an utter disregard of the habits and facilities for physical cleanliness. Come down into the Middle Ages and you get the same lesson. Look at those wonderful pictures drawn by the great artists of royal personages, with beautiful flowing silk robes bedecked with diamonds and precious stones. Fortunately for the reputation of those personages, not even the deft brush of the artist could bring out on the canvas that those royal garments were reeking with vermin, and the bodies they encased were bathed once a month. I am not telling you any news. Get any standard medieval history, and you will get just what I have told you. I am only putting it in a little different language so that it will not be quite so easy to forget. We get the same lesson from the evolutionary process going on right under our faces now.

In our modern civilization, refinement or cleanliness is like chewing tobacco or going to church. You have to learn to do it if you are ever going to do it. It does not come natural. I have said this not for the purpose of being facetious, to allow you and me and our friends to constitute a very bright and holy background for the thing I want to say, that while we have become so accustomed to facilities of cleanliness we

think we need a cold plunge or a shower to start the day. We have become habituated to it. But while that is true, the point I want to make is that America up to the present date, as a nation, is a dirty nation, and I can prove it. I think I could prove, your Honor, that Philadelphia is a dirty city! Go to mining camps, railroad construction camps, industrial communities in any of our large cities, and many of our smaller cities, and you will find great areas populated by human beings without the most rudimentary facilities for keeping clean. How can we expect them to be cleanly without the facilities for it?

In other words, it is our duty, as agents of the public good, not to wait until people specifically demand that they have water facilities in their homes, hot and cold water in every floor of that house. It is our duty to create the demand, to insist upon it as a part of our civic equipment, that every family shall be furnished with these facilities. I have confidence enough in the innate integrity and decency in the human race that if you furnish them these facilities, the majority will take advantage of them. What would you think of a family here in Philadelphia that took scrupulous care of four or five of the children, washed them and fed them and dressed them nicely every day, and left two or three of the other members of the family, brothers and sisters of these, unkempt, unclothed, unwashed, week after week? Is Philadelphia one family or is it to be cut up into segments? Is America one family or is it to drift back into the old individualistic idea, that it can set itself apart and live its own life, go to heaven its own way and let the rest go its way? That is the problem we face. So, might I venture a word, that in going into the homes of those children placed in your care as a probation officer, or a relief agent, as a visiting nurse, or visiting teacher, you look after the sanitary conditions, discover whether the child lives in a clean place, whether it is inspiring, whether you give him an opportunity to know what cleanliness means, and, if not, raise such an agitation that others will join with you in seeing that an improvement in conditions comes about. Fortunately for the suggestion that I have just made, we have a machinery in this country that ought to make a nation-wide campaign perfectly feasible. We

have a kind of conscription in this country, educational conscription. We call it compulsory school attendance. Every day from twenty to twenty-five million American people are assembled in little groups, where they can be taught with the least expense of time and effort some of the rudimentary, elementary lessons of physical life, and taught at the period in their life when they are plastic, when there is a chance of a lesson sticking and doing some good.

Take another commonplace closely related to the work that I have mentioned. I have just come back from a 7,500-mile trip, wandering around through the South and Southeast. Among the lessons I learn in traveling are the two rules of ventilation. They are only two, and very simple. First, the only way to get warm air in a room is to close the ventilators. Second, the only way to get cold air in a room is to shut off the steam. Of course, I don't believe in either of these rules myself, but the porter believes in them both, and he has the last word. That is not the worst of it. Ninety per cent. of the traveling public believe it, and we believe in the rule of the majority in this country. What is the use of the rest of us making any complaint? We have an unwritten law, very effectual, though unwritten, that when you are traveling the people who want impure air can always get it, and the people who want pure air can never get it. What is the trouble? Are they trying to make us uncomfortable? No. The trouble goes back two or three steps, back into the home. Beautiful as Philadelphia is, and far advanced above other cities, there are many men in Philadelphia who, if they came home and opened the front door and found all the furniture where it belonged, would think that they were in the wrong house, if they didn't recognize the old, familiar smell. I have had one after another of probation officers, visiting nurses, visiting teachers and other organization workers say, "I would love my work if I could only leave my nose in the office." After children have lived in that atmosphere for a few years, by the time they come to school age, they meet one of these teachers with all the new ideas about ventilation. She knows how it ought to be done. You have one teacher, forty pupils and one janitor. That makes a real voting majority of forty, because the teacher and the janitor are tied. When the teacher

thinks it necessary, she tries to provide them with fresh air and down come the parents to know if she wants to kill their children? This is what we get at a great number of our schools, not so much in our cities, but out in the rural districts, where the four winds of heaven would blow through the school house if they had a chance to get at it. I am reminded of an essay that a little boy wrote in Indiana on the great hero Achilles. According to this boy's essay, the mother of Achilles dipped him in the River Styx to make him intolerable. As I go around among the rural schools, I am convinced that Achilles was not the only one who was dipped. It is not the fault of the teachers. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred it is the fault of the lack of sanitary intelligence on the part of the community and due to the fact that the children in the school have become inured to bad atmosphere.

Then there is the matter of proper nourishment. Do we face an urgent situation in the matter of nourishing the younger generation? Are some children brought before some branch of the Municipal Court because they are underfed? That makes for waywardness. Did you ever see a child whose disposition went awry and who wanted to run amuck because he was hungry? It is no wonder that during the war we became very much disturbed for fear there would be a hungry soldier in the trenches. We started a food conservation department with a great man at the head of it, and we made the discovery that we could feed our people and a hundred million more if we wanted to do it. Some of us almost learned how to eat during that time. I think if the war had lasted five years we would have learned how to eat, and perhaps to feed and clothe ourselves. We have not learned yet. We half kill ourselves. The majority of the people are working themselves to an early grave because they spend 90 per cent. of their strength in trying to feed and clothe and house themselves, The brute world does it more easily than that. We ought to do it so that we could devote a part at least to the higher things of life. Why did we become so very much alarmed over the hungry soldier? Because we knew that a hungry soldier was not very much good as a fighter. He had to be fed to fortify himself. Just a year ago this month, one of the officers of the Board of Health in my city made a

report under his own signature that there were approximately 500,000 boys and girls in New York City victims of malnutrition, and 120,000 of them so far gone that they were permanently diseased. Did any one get excited? We held a few meetings, passed a few resolutions. It reminded me of the remark of Mark Twain, that he had always noticed that every one was talking about the weather, but he never noticed that any one did anything about it.

Is that an emergency? If a soldier cannot make a good fight in the trench, can a little child in the great battlefields of peace make a good fight for the development of ideal citizenship, unless he learns through childhood to recognize and take advantage of his divine rights to line his little stomach with three square meals a day? How much of juvenile delinquency, how much of bad dispositions, arises out of the fact that the child is hungry? How much ignorance have we spread over the community and over the whole country in the past, because we let childhood come up to maturity hungry?

Or, take the matter of proper housing. It was reported by the United States Children's Bureau a few years ago that the rate of infant mortality could be traced with mathematical accuracy to the number of rooms the family had the privilege of living in. We talk about housing as purely an economic problem. It is related to the life of every child, and we human beings ought at least to have as much intelligence as the birds of the air. They will come out in a few weeks and find a nice branch in one of the trees in one of your public parks, and will put their heads together and say, "This will be a nice place to build a nest and bring up our little family." Suppose some young man in Philadelphia starts down your streets with a beautiful young girl that has cast her lot with his for life, and they come out along your pleasant street, see a nice home and say, "This will be a lovely place to build our little nest and bring up our little family—southern exposure, beautiful trees in the front, a little flower garden in the back. Everything is right for the æsthetic effect on the children we are going to have in our family. Let us have our nest here." Do they do that? Not in my town. They go and look up a real estate agent. The agent does not ask them how many

windows they want in the house, does not ask them what their æsthetic ideals are, and how many books on decorative art they have read. He wants to know how much they have in their pockets. That determines where they are going to build their nest. We have been so niggardly, that, take the country as a whole, in spite of its vast spaces, we have compelled people to crowd into a place where the children are intellectually and morally squeezed, living in narrow confines. Is it any wonder they do not grow, thus cribbed, cabined and confined? Let us give them room. Let us see to it as child workers, and promote agitation to give them enough space to live in.

There are other considerations. I have not been talking in terms of medical science, partly because I don't know how, and partly because you would not understand if I did. But we are talking about health. We recognize that health is a game we all want to get into. It is not like the professional game that many of us thought it was, where we would get into the grandstand or along the side-lines and watch the professionals play the game of health. The doctors for years have been trying to tell us to use some common sense. They said, "Why don't you feed yourself properly, take care of yourself, house yourself properly?" although they knew if we did it we would be robbing them of half their job. The medical profession is one of the professions that has shown a magnificent public spirit that I think the public has never fairly recognized. We wouldn't follow their advice. We have to have some disaster come on us before we could take the thing seriously. I think these instructions in matters of health, carried on in our public schools and in our public agencies, would increase the average span of human life five or ten years in this country, and that is worth something.

There is the matter of intellectual education, which means not simply the abolishing of illiteracy. I am not impressed by the statement we frequently hear, that America is spending five or six hundred million dollars a year on education. That does not impress me. What does impress me is the fact that we have in this country today an army of over five and a half million illiterates, four million of them native American born. I want illiteracy abolished not in a hundred years from now, I

want it abolished in the present generation, because illiteracy, as you know, means poverty and inefficiency. We must interest ourselves in the organization of agencies that will take care of the common run of us, who need sunshine and fertilization and irrigation in order that our brains may function. Then, when we have abolished illiteracy, we have to abolish the sixth grade standard of education. Up to the present your average American citizen has been satisfied with letting a child get six grades. I can take you to parts of the country today where children are taught by teachers equipped with six grades of elementary education. We show in our national life the hallmark of sixth grade training. We must get beyond that, far beyond that. Our children must be taught not only how to read and write, but they must be taught the obligations of citizenship. I think I am revealing no secret when I say that the typical attitude of the American citizen towards its official agents has been one either of chronic indifference or of heated criticism. If a public servant did his work well we passed him by on the other side. If he didn't do his work so well, we criticized him. We made up our minds that we would like to do that, and, instead of trying to improve him, we started off on our own hook and organized something to take the place of his agency. We must learn that citizenship implies obligations, that the court is not a thing to be dreaded and kept away from, that it is the embodiment of the principle of justice, of equity and fair dealing, that it is not simply a place where we can come to make complaint against somebody else, but where we can get advice and counsel about justice in its ordinary, daily operations in the community. The probation officer is to deal not simply with the child who is sub-normal, who is a pathological case. There are other kinds to deal with in our school system. We get far enough in many parts of our country so that we have what we call ungraded classes. That phrase is a complimentary way of talking about classes for feeble-minded or sub-normal children. That is to say, we find one that is intellectually pathological, and we try to pick it up by some special process. We have not discovered in most parts of the country that we have another type of children, in fact, that all children are special cases, that all classes ought to be in a way ungraded,

that no two children are just alike, and that as we have sub-normal so we have super-normal children, who are trying to go through school grade after grade, and are frightfully bored by the thing that they can see at a glance. They ought to be kept busy on something. We must develop a wider range up and down. If we learn this in childhood, we are going to be better citizens when we grow up. One of the greatest services I can see you people are accomplishing in your official task and in your private agency task is the development of a more potent, more intimate citizenship, the realization of an obligation that does not simply spring into being when some difficulty arises, but is implicit and exists all the time, twenty-four hours in the day. We are taking care now in this country of certain special groups because we are still at the bubbling, sputtering stage of the war spirit, the spirit of the men who went to the front. It is expressed by the people mostly who did their fighting with their mouths at home. They have not had enough of that kind of war. The fellows that were over there had enough. They want the country to get to work on real things. I have talked with hundreds of them as I went up and down the country. I know what the feeling of these returned soldiers is, I think. And some of our people are trying certain processes of a broad, constructive Americanism, such as, I suppose, Mr. Burns spoke to you about a few weeks ago. But there are certain kinds of Americanism on the twenty-four hour plan that some people are trying to carry on. I can take you to communities of our country which I have visited in the last two years, inhabited by a colony of aliens, who have lived there fifteen years without hearing a word of English, except from the postman. We start in some evening in a little town, wave a flag, say "Salute the flag and sing the Star-Spangled Banner and you are Americans." Are they? What do they know about our great, blossoming republic, with all its potentiality? Suppose that we take one of the Polish communities in Chicago or in Detroit and start in to Americanize them by first telling them that they must appreciate the advantages of democratic self-government. Poland had democratic self-government before Columbus discovered America. They were familiar with it generations ago. That is one reason they came here, because

they wanted to realize in this country what had been impossible in their own country. They know what happened there, with the great autocracies, Prussia, Austria, Russia, pressing in on every hand, tearing limb after limb from the Polish Republic until, by and by, with all its wings gone, the eagle of Poland was trailed in the dust. They come to America, and we should say to them, "We know what your ideals are. We know what your forefathers fought for. Here is a chance in America to realize your dream." Let us get together to show them how it can be done. We can bring to fruition that which they sowed in tears.

We Americanized some groups recently in New York. We went in one evening to some of their meetings, not with school books, but with clubs, and battered them over the heads until the blood spurted. I saw the blood-stained pages of some books those people were studying. We took some of them away to prison and kept them over night, and then let them go the next morning, I am told, because there was nothing against them. What were those books? They were treatises on mathematics in the Russian language. They could not read English and they had heard that we wanted them to be Americans, so they had come together to study mathematics in the only language they could understand. And that is the way we treated them. Does that awaken the love and veneration of American freedom in the country? My point is that we are not going to club people into a spirit of cooperation, of genuine American citizenship. We are going to win them, draw them. This policy of witch burning today seems to me to bear in itself the seeds of its own defeat. You cannot stop agitation by forbidding discussions. Any intelligent housekeeper in Philadelphia will tell you that the worst possible way to stop a tea kettle from boiling is to sit on the lid. It not only fails to accomplish the purpose you have in mind, but it is an uncomfortable position to occupy. The man who has an idea wants to ventilate it. If we get together and talk it over, and tell him how foolish it is, if he has any sense he will see that his idea is not as good as ours. That is the purpose of the National Conference of Social Workers. Every year there are people who come there with a panacea for the salvation of the world. They come there all "het up"

with it. They get up and make a speech showing how, if we will all do the think they want us to do, it will save the world. Do we forbid them to discuss it? No, but for a week we discuss it. Their newly discovered idea, their world-saving scheme, is subjected to a friendly, scientific, merciless analysis. By the time the week is over, if the idea is proved to be unwise, they go home chastened. If the idea had in it a germ of good sense, they have had a chance to test it out. America has been defined as the place where we have all been repeating our mistakes, only on a larger scale. The fundamental purpose of the conference is to correct the mistakes that are being made in one part or another, and to advertise the good things that are being done.

I have a very uneasy feeling that I have consumed the time allotted to me without perhaps having made a single practical, constructive suggestion, though I have tried to suggest a spirit that should dominate us not only in our own work, but in our relations as representatives of private agencies and public agencies, and to extend to you the hope that if we take the children of the present generation and give them the chance to which I think they are entitled, we are going to bring up a generation in the next quarter of a century that will be so far beyond the generation of the present, that will have so much wider vision than you or I have had, that forever we can be thankful we have had the opportunity to live in this world and to sow the seeds of the future. (Applause.)

Judge Brown invited Rev. Wm. J. Lallou to address the meeting.

Father Lallou: Judge Brown, and ladies and gentlemen: I suppose that the "jury" cannot render a verdict, for I see several "jurors" have withdrawn. But I am sure that this "jury" is a unit in its finding of fact that we have listened to a very instructive and very timely discourse. I might say a word suggested by Mr. Lovejoy on the relationship of public agencies to private agencies. Of course, we all are agreed that childhood is a very live topic. It is very important work,

however much we may dispute concerning standards and methods, institutional care and private placement; whether we shall do the work by public agencies entirely or whether private agencies shall function along. But I think there is one thing to be said for the private agency, and that is that it indicates a socially awake public conscience, and I think also as a matter of history that private agencies have been pioneers in social work. They have pointed the way or blazed the trail, and they have awakened the public to recognize the need which they supply as private individuals or associations of private individuals. But each private agency, organized as it is for some special work, should not only do that work, that particular work, be that religious, educational or industrial, whatever it may be, but it should also work in accord with the best recognized principles of social service. In other words, far in the future, we are going to have a grand combination of energy. Whether we are going to have a merger of various private agencies into a great public agency, however that may be, we must be sure that the individual work which the little private agency aims to do is performed under the merger, and at the same time that all the advantages which a union of energies can produce will be given to the child. As things stand at present, I think, with regard to the relationship of public agencies and private agencies, the one thing which we are all looking to is co-operation, and we will have co-operation in the measure in which we give it. If you lie awake in the dark you can hear any sound for which you listen. You can hear the burglar rattling at the back door. You can hear him picking at the lock, crawling up the stairs. You can hear him breathing in the room, but when you turn on the light you find that all these noises were the creation of your own imagination, or perhaps the creation of the winds. So it is with some social workers. They see in other agencies the desire to do their work, or they see prejudice, or they see bigotry, or they misunderstand. The prejudice, the bigotry, the misunderstanding is right in their own minds, and does not exist in the principles which actuate the other agency. Of course, it is not true of Philadelphia. We are all so conscious of our own defects that no one agency puts itself up on a pedestal to criticize the acts of others. But I think sincerely

we have in Philadelphia a splendid example of this very co-operation. I think that we are all trying to stand on common ground, and not in single file like soldiers, but we stand in a circle trying to clasp each other hand to hand. (Applause.)

Judge Brown invited Mr. H. Prentice Murphy, of the Seybert Institute, to address the meeting.

Mr. Murphy: Your Honor, Mr. Speaker, and ladies and gentlemen: Owen Lovejoy is a lover and defender of children, and the message that he has brought here is one that Philadelphia needs just as much as Birmingham, New Orleans, or any one of a great many other cities that I might mention. I gather from his talk that his task is your task, "to catch them while they are young." If we, as individuals in the world, could accept that as a working hypothesis, much that is very terrible in the lives of adults might be checked, might be prevented, because the tragedy of life is that at the most important part of it, in the first few years, the chance that is lost in the first ten years never does come again in life. I remember as a very little boy hearing my grandmother say, "Water this plant," and then admonishing me with very great emphasis, "A minute may be too late." That is what happens with children, and Philadelphia, if it carries or accepts the message that Mr. Lovejoy has brought, will read into its public and private service for children a great many things that are lacking. I would like to cite just one. We are the third largest city in the country, but as a municipality we express an infinitesimal responsibility for those mothers who, by reason of widowhood or poverty, or on account of the sickness of their husbands, are unable to provide money for the keeping of their own children. An infinitesimal responsibility is expressed, and if we accept Mr. Lovejoy's method during this reconstruction period in some way, and in the right way, Philadelphia will do for those mothers in service what she does not begin to do today, and that will be helping the children. I am glad that I came to hear Mr. Lovejoy. (Applause.)

Dr. Bruce M. Watson (Executive Secretary of the Public Education and Child Labor Association):

Your Honor, and friends: I cannot emphasize too strongly the lessons, wise and beautiful, that we have heard this afternoon. I would like to suggest one more phase of the same subject. We have a child labor law in the State of Pennsylvania. By many people it was thought that that ended the contest in Pennsylvania. Mr. Lovejoy said that the American people cannot do anything unless there is an emergency. The emergency seemed to have passed when the law was passed, but we need some sort of irritation which would make people see that there is a continuous emergency in the child labor field. The law is a splendid law, and the children of Pennsylvania are infinitely better off than they were before that law. In its main features the law is being observed, the children are vastly better off than they would be without it, and yet you know and I know that there is constant violation. For example, a few weeks ago there were reported more than one hundred violations to the Director of Public Safety. Some day we hope that the promises held out by that law will be fulfilled. I want to leave this thought, however. When we make a promise that children shall not be exploited in industry, there occurs with that the corollary that we must provide something for those children to take the place of industry. If it is compulsory attendance at school, we must make the schools fit for them to attend, so that they must spend the time there profitably. Or if we say that they must not work and earn money, but must attend school, it follows inevitably that we must make conditions of the home or society such that it will be possible for those children to attend school comfortably and profitably. There is a field for us in the city of Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania yet to work.

Now how shall we make the schools fit for the children to attend? I believe that the public schools of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania stand on as high a plane certainly as any public activity, and for that there is all honor due to the people who are sticking to the job under these adverse circumstances. I am not so extreme as Mr. Lovejoy, I don't ask all at once to have the salaries of the teachers doubled. But I would like

to see them go back to the place where they were before they were reduced 50 per cent., as they have been in the last three or four years. We hope to accomplish something by showing the people of Philadelphia the responsibility by means of a school survey, in which I hope you will all be interested. I hope, furthermore, that many of you who see that there is a violation of the Child Labor Law will report it to the Public Education and the Child Labor Association, 1720 Chestnut Street. We have a worker whose duty it is to look into those cases and bring them to the attention of the proper authorities. (Applause.)

Mr. Henry J. Gideon (Chief, Board of Compulsory Education):

Your Honor, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: I have only a word to say. I rise for a moment to pin a rose on Philadelphia. In 1911, when I became interested for the first time in this problem of compulsory school attendance and child labor, there were in the city of Philadelphia 24,000 children employed in the industries of the city. In the year 1919 that number had been reduced to less than 12,000. Year after year, for the past nine years, the number of children employed in the industries of the city has been reduced. That has not been entirely due to the fact that the law has been more stringently drawn, nor is it due to the fact that the law has been more efficiently enforced. It is due to the fact that the citizens of Philadelphia, the parents of the children attending the public, parochial and private schools of the city, are beginning to realize that it pays to keep the children in school. One of the greatest causes, one of the greatest factors, in keeping children in school and reducing the wholesale withdrawal of children from school to the industries has been the extension of the high school system. Ten years ago there were comparatively few local high schools. At the present time we have two high schools in West Philadelphia, two in South Philadelphia, two in Germantown, one in Kensington, and one in Frankford for boys and girls, and one in the northern section of the city, and two or three in the central section

of the city. In other words, as the Board of Public Education has offered to the children of Philadelphia a better and more suitable type of educational training, the children have come forward and accepted it. So, as our schools improve, so the number of children employed in the industries will be reduced, because there is no question of the fact that our children do not leave school because they have to. There are very few withdrawals in this city—and I presume that this is true of the entire country—because of economic necessity. They withdraw from school because they do not like the school, and, as the Board of Education provides better schools and better teachers, better curricula and better facilities in general for educational training, so the number of children withdrawing from school will be reduced. I humbly endorse the stand taken by Mr. Lovejoy in behalf of the teachers. I think that their salaries should not be increased. I think they ought to be doubled. (Applause.)

ADDRESS

Delivered by

CHARLES PLATT, Ph.D., M.D., F.C.S. Lond.

"The Psychological Basis for Social Endeavor"

Under the auspices of

THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF PHILADELPHIA

MAY 20, 1921

Dr. Thomas A. Shallow, Chief Physician of the Municipal Court, in introducing the speaker, said: "We have with us to-day one who has not only attained the highest degree of literary attainment, but who has traveled abroad and attained the highest degree of medical distinction. He is a graduate of medicine and a doctor of philosophy. It gives me great pleasure to introduce Doctor Charles Platt, who will speak on the 'Psychological Basis for Social Endeavor.'"

ADDRESS

I want to consider with you, this afternoon, some of the principles underlying your work in their relation to the findings of modern psychology. As you doubtless know, there is a tendency in psychology to link the mind and all the reactions of man, including his emotions, with the physiology and anatomy of his brain and body. Now when we remember that this physiology and anatomy is largely a matter of inheritance, or is at least due to conditions over which the individual has but little control, then the natural inference is that man's mental reactions and emotions—his conduct, in short—must also be outside his control. It would seem, indeed, that man must be a mere automaton, that he must function like a machine, that he can have no actual responsibility in life, that he is what he is and cannot help it. Of course, if this be so there can be no valid reason for social endeavor. The destiny of each man being already fixed, why bother about him? Let us, out of ordinary charity, provide a few soup-kitchens, and other present and material aids for the hungry and sick, but let us not waste time trying to change that which cannot be changed.

Now I am going to claim that while this modern psychological idea of man is undoubtedly correct, there is, nevertheless, a real reason for regarding social endeavor as a hopeful proceeding and one which we may reasonably expect will yield the largest of results, if only we go about it in the right manner.

Let us look at the psychological theory more closely, but let us start with the psychological theory of *society*—that we may know what demands society makes upon man.

Society, we may say, presents a form of collective life carried on by mental interaction between the individuals composing it (Ellwood), very much, for example, as the body of the individual presents a collective life carried on by the interaction of its component parts. Conceive that in the human body the cells represent the individuals, and the organs, the liver, etc., represent institutions—individualized groups of individuals—while the body as a whole represents society as a whole.

The parallel is a close one. A man is well, just so long as all these parts, cells and organs, are well and work in harmony; when one part becomes ill, the whole body becomes ill. It is the same with society. Society depends for its health upon the health of each of its individual components. If society as a whole is to be well we must have no festering sores nor unhealthy parts. And when we do have these unhealthy parts, we must try to correct them. Furthermore, in both society and the individual, to maintain health all parts must be mutually adapted and correlated with each other, and all, too, must function with a common purpose, or disease results. For example, aside from what we call social evils and social crimes, consider for a moment political life and the affairs of commerce. Europe, and for that matter the world, can never be well so long as Russia and Germany are out of adjustment with the rest of nations. They are like diseased organs in the great whole of the society of the world, and that whole must remain ill so long as these two great nations are ill.

But to go on. This necessity of mutual adjustment is true not only as regards material things, such as economic affairs and physical health, but also as regards the social and individual ideas of happiness. Much of man's personal misery comes from his failure to adjust his ideals

and his tendencies, and we know that both mental and moral disease, and even physical disease, may arise from the existence in the individual of mental conflicts. It is the same in society; there are conflicts there; there are many conflicting ideals and tendencies.

In the first place, man is naturally egoistic and selfish, but here in society he must make sacrifice of many of his personal desires. He must adjust to the group. Some make this adjustment readily, and some with difficulty. Some cannot make it at all. The latter are the "reds" and professional criminals who prey upon society for their own ends. A still larger class, a more important class—one with which you come so often into contact—is that composed of people who would be glad enough to obey all society's laws, if only they knew how, or were able. But either they are deficient in development and do not know how to adjust, or they are prevented from adjustment by economic difficulties, the weight of poverty, etc. Many good citizens living in affluence and comfort would fail absolutely and come into conflict with the law were they to be subjected to the trials of our poor. We sometime speak of our prostitutes as being largely subnormal, as though this were the cause of their prostitution, but we forget that subnormality is not uncommon in the "best society." Whether a girl becomes a prostitute or a great social success, depends largely upon circumstances over which she individually has little control.

Again, conflicts arise in society from the fact that the various groups of mankind have not all undergone a uniform evolution. For one reason or another some have progressed more rapidly than others. It is as though one leg of a man should grow faster than the other. The man would limp—and so society limps, because of its unequal development. When it is the individual who fails

of adjustment, we may have a criminal or a pauper; when it is a group which has failed, we may have revolution or war.

To recapitulate: Society we have defined as a form of collective life carried on by mental interaction between the individuals composing it. We have compared this with the body and its individual cells, and we have found that in each case the health of the whole depends upon the health and mutual adjustment of the component parts.

Let us speak now of the individual. What of him, psychologically? In the first place, we know, as has already been said, that a man's actions are largely determined for him by his inheritance—just as are his physical traits. Man comes into life with a considerable baggage. He has inherited tendencies in multitude, certain dispositions, and likes and dislikes. He has also a host of instincts derived from a far distant past—some of them possibly from his animal predecessors, and none of them, probably, of a later date than that forest life of primitive man before civilization had entered in, and before there was, strictly speaking, a society at all. He brings into the world, too, a temperament, and this temperament, we may say, is entirely a physiological thing, a thing determined by the condition of his body, his nerves, his glands and his other organs.

Man arrives in this world, then, with his temperament, his tendencies, and his instincts already formed, and these are all powerful determinants of his life's actions. He comes, moreover, into an environment in the selection of which he has had no choice. Were we free to choose we would doubtless all select rich, comfortable homes to be born into, but unfortunately we

have no choice; we have to accept such homes as are given us.

If we stop here, as I said in the beginning, we have a picture of pure determinism. According to these theories it would seem that man not only cannot help himself but that there can be little use for others to try to help him. Some people have this idea, and others, hearing that psychology so teaches, have but little use for psychology.

The fact is that the question has not all been stated in what has so far been said. Man is largely mechanical; man and society both are produced and function largely according to fixed natural laws—*but*, society and man, both again, are, nevertheless, quite capable of being modified, directed and controlled. It is this which makes the study of psychology worth while. Work! Yes, you have work—the greatest work that can be assumed by mankind. The important thing is this, that these mechanical forces in man's life are not wholly mechanical. They are, each and all, capable of being influenced either for good or bad.

Take the matter of environment, for instance. This thing, which is, as it were, handed to us by fortune, is most certainly modifiable—if not by the individual on his own behalf, then certainly by others working for him. Here at once we have a great social work and duty. Here is work all can join in. Let us work for a better environment. Civic and social forces can do and are doing much in this line. Let us further such movements. The social environment must be made one which shall be conducive to health and to happiness. All must have their share of clean water, clean air, clean streets, and decent food. Open places and playgrounds must be provided, and ugliness must be repressed as a nuisance. So too in

industry. Proper and wholesome conditions for work are the right of every laborer in the land.

Again, the temperament of man, this very personal possession of his, this thing which is so largely responsible for the way he meets all of his problems—this temperament, which, as we have mentioned, is a matter of physiology, and dependent upon the health of the organs, this too is modifiable by all that affects the condition of health. By improving man's environment, we at the same time have some effect on his temperament, and by improving his health in other more direct ways we have a correspondingly more direct effect. Temperament, then, like environment, while primarily a matter of inheritance, is also modifiable.

Now how about his other tendencies, and dispositions, and instincts? These too are inherited, and some of them are very firmly fixed—and yet we have found that if man is to adapt himself to society, if he is to live happily within the group, these same forces, these tendencies and instincts, must be guided and controlled. Well, they can be. They can be turned to the benefit of society, and, moreover, it will be found that in this new use they will reflect back and work for the happiness of the man. His conflicts disappear; points of friction are smoothed away; and he becomes a contented, useful citizen, in a smoothly working state.

In a general way, we may say that this so desirable control is to be obtained by the development of man's mind, the intellectual side of his mind. And by this I do not mean necessarily the accumulation of knowledge, but rather the training of the mind in the direction of useful habits and of emotional restraint. Man differs from the lower animals in degree only, but the difference is a great one for all that. The difference lies in the greater elab-

oration of the brain, an elaboration which has made possible what we call thought and reasoning. By these elaborated mental processes man has been lifted far above the other animals. The latter, the lower animals, remain largely, almost entirely, mechanical, obeying the mandates of their own inherited dispositions and instincts unless actually prevented by some outside influence; while man has obtained a certain degree of control over these same. Not all, of course, have the same degree of control. Some have it much more highly developed than others, and some have it so little that they can accomplish nothing unaided. It is with these last that your work so largely lies.

In short, then, it is the development of the brain that has made it possible for man to divert, control and direct those natural forces which still hold all other animals in bondage. It is upon man's use of this power of control that the future progress of the race depends.

The elementary forces lying behind all of man's actions—these you must accept. Some one, I think it was Harriet Martineau, once said to Carlyle, "I can accept the Creation." And Carlyle answered, "Gad! Mam, you better!" So I say, we must accept the fact of these underlying forces, these inherited tendencies. It is necessary that we recognize and accept them, for if we do not, we need never expect progress in our attempts at their reform.

The key to the problem is, then, education, and this includes all kinds of education, the education—call it advice, if you please—which you are giving every day of your lives, and the education, through example, the children are getting in their homes—again something you too have some charge over—and, finally, the education of the schools. It is the intellectual control of the subconscious, emotional, egoistical animal in man that we must strive for.

I mention the schools. Here is one of our greatest fields for endeavor. In the school we find what should be one of our greatest aids to social improvement. "Well, if that be so," some may be inclined to exclaim, "then we are all right in this country." But are we? Henry Van Dyke, writing recently (Scribner's Magazine, Nov. 1920) has this to say: "Are not Americans the best educated people in the world? They are not. And the worst of it is they think they are." Listen. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and a half dozen European countries are all ahead of the United States, both in school attendance and in general literacy. We have about twenty-five million children of school age, and only about sixteen million of these are in school. Furthermore, of these sixteen million about four million are being taught by teachers with no professional training whatever, and, indeed, with little training of any kind, many of them not even having reached the high school. There are about seven and one-half million adults in the United States who can neither read a newspaper nor write a letter—who can neither read nor write in English or in any other language. And about one-third of these are whites, have American parents, and are American born and bred. Dr. Finegan, our own state head of education, in a recent report says that there are 418,000 illiterate adults in the State of Pennsylvania, and 79,000 in the City of Philadelphia. Now remember that these figures include only the totally illiterate. If a person can spell out the head lines of a newspaper, he is not included. Is it not appalling? Do you know that the average American barely reaches the Sixth Grade in school! And this in a democracy where the greatest of public problems are referred to the people for decision! Let us not be overly proud of our attainments in the educational line!

This school question is, of course, a public question, and, therefore, one in which we are each of us personally interested. But aside from the school, education is, too, as I have said, a matter for the home. It is even a matter especially for the home; as the best education of all is that which pertains to the obtaining of good habits and to the early instilling into the child by the parents, and by such as you, of ideals and attitudes which shall be truly worth while. And habits, you know, are practically all formed in the childhood of man.

Not all men are capable of the higher education as regards knowledge accumulation, but nearly all men—all men not mentally diseased—are capable of education along the lines of moral development. Here lies a very important part of your work. You have to advise, or we might say coax, the children into better ideals, and you have to work with the parents in the same way. The vast subconscious, unconscious background to our characters is a great store of individual tendencies, some of which are now good and some bad. The education I conceive to be the most important of all is that which dips down into the subconscious, which goes down into the realm of natural instincts—the fountain-head of conduct—and brings out therefrom only that which is useful. If we can do this and establish real habits as to the useful tendencies, the non-useful, non-social, antagonistic and harmful tendencies will gradually lose force. At the same time the emotional life will come under control and will be restrained and guided into useful paths of expression.

Now to do all this to best effect, it is the child we must work with. It is the child which must be given the proper desires and the proper ideals. Here lies the really constructive part of your work—the rest is helpful and useful, but it is largely palliative in character. It is in

the child that we must lay down the foundations of industry, honor, unselfishness, and truth. The social sense necessary to the health of society can be obtained only in childhood. In the child must be developed the sense of duty to others, and also the sense of true social values. The late Doctor Munsterberg, formerly professor of psychology at Harvard (in an address at the Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr) placed the purpose of education as the development of a proper sense of values. He was undoubtedly correct. An education which will develop a proper valuation of the things of life and lead thereby to a demand for the things which are truly worth while, will go far to end all social misery. I say that this work, this training, must be with the child. The ideal is that it be given by the parents, but this, unfortunately, cannot always be—the parents are unable. Here, again, you step in with your help and influence to supply as well as may be that wisdom which they so sadly lack.

I speak of this early moral training rather than of institutions, because of its far greater importance. Institutions of control are required, and always will be, but their functions are limited. Government, police, social penalties and laws will always be necessary, and, in fact, will become increasingly so as society becomes more and more complex. With the increasing complexity there is an increased difficulty in adjustment, and the more likely will it be that individuals will fail in the making of this adjustment. Institutional controls are necessary then, but they cannot ordinarily be relied upon for progress. Society, it has been said, has been produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness. The success of society does not depend upon government, but upon making man abler to be governed (Carlyle), upon the helping of him to make his social adjustments.

I say that institutions are not ordinarily to be relied upon for progress, but there is beginning here and there, in this old world of ours, a new idea, or rather, a new application of an old idea, a new kind of an institution—an institution with a human soul. It is this kind of an institution you belong to, and you should be very proud of the honor. Philadelphia's Municipal Court stands at the very head of what we may call the modern, scientific, humanitarian movement. Here it is recognized that coercion does not accomplish progress, and that constraint is but the parent of resistance. Here are recognized the difficulties of the poor, and, in the place of coercion and constraint, there have been enthroned the far more effective forces of persuasion and kindly guidance. The idea itself is not a new one—it is only its application to the huge problems of a city's great underworld of poverty and crime that is new. I say the idea itself is not new. In the mythology of the ancient Teutonic peoples, when the gods came to bind Fenris, the wolf, son of Loki, the god of mischief and fraud, they found that he easily burst asunder all the fetters they loaded upon him. Finally, however, they bound him successfully with a cord made of such substances as the "noise of the foot-fall of a cat, the breath of fishes, and the spittle of birds." This cord, "as smooth and soft as a silken string," held him firmly. The moral of this is, of course, that gentle suasion, not bonds, must be used to restrain evil. The psychology behind this old myth reveals a true appreciation of the soul of man, but the application of this truth in civic affairs has had to wait some thousands of years for expression.

In this connection, however, let me add one word. I do not want to leave you with the impression that I am advocating the molly-coddling of criminals. There is,

as I have said, a class of individuals who are hopelessly anti-social in all of their instincts, and these must be removed from society. When it comes to a weighing of the welfare of society and the welfare of an individual enemy of society, there must be no hesitation—it is society's welfare that must be first guarded. On the other hand, again, do not think that we are giving up anything as individuals when we make this decision—society's welfare is the road to individual happiness; the individual cannot have well-being when society is in a state of disturbance.

I wonder if you recognize, in this respect, your own importance in this court. (I am speaking to the probation officers now, especially.) It is your chief duty to so study the delinquents with whom you come into contact that you may aid this court in determining its duties. It is your duty to provide the information upon which the court shall act. Without you the court is helpless for good. There is no possibility that it could, without you, know when it should punish and when not. Your part is the most important part here; the judges of the court can but give legal interpretation and endorsement to your findings.

In seeking for the psychological basis for social endeavor, we seem to have drifted naturally into a consideration of basic ideals. It is to these that psychology always leads us. Its best and most important work is in the identifying of basic principles, in the setting of right foundations, and in the obtaining of proper purposes. And, after all, it is the foundation which counts, is it not? We must lay this well, or our building will come to naught. Many brave movements have failed in the past because of this very lack.

Many theoretical formulas for social reform have

led to failure through not being founded on a true psychological appreciation. Take that formula, that password, we might almost call it a battle-cry—The Equality of Man. How good it sounds—and how untrue it is! Men are not equal as regards social values. They are not even born equal. No two citizens were ever worth just the same to the state. No two laborers ever earned just the same pay. No two transgressors ever had exactly the same degree of responsibility in their crime. The only true equality is that which we may assume to exist in man's relation to an all-knowing God.

In society there is no equality—except only in this, the right of every man to fair play. There must be no artificial privileges erected by individuals or by classes. Here is where equality lies, in the right to fair play—here, and nowhere else! One of the highest compliments a foreigner ever paid to this country was, I think, that of the French philosopher Bergson, when he said that the spirit of America could be expressed by the words he so often heard here, "Let us give it a chance." This is the very soul of fair play—and might well serve as a motto for this court.

We may find a man or a girl simply impossible from an ordinary social standpoint, but, provided we can reasonably safe-guard the rest of society, let us give him, or her, a chance. This attitude has led us, maybe, at times into some foolish experiments, but its spirit is a good one, there is no better—may it always be representative of our people!

True equality, then, I say, rests in this and in this only—the right to fair play, the right to justice. But this, unfortunately, is the last thing that most of us want. When we speak of fair play for ourselves, we mean privilege. We want something more than justice can

give us—we want privilege. We want something for nothing; we want to be distinguished above our fellows. The profiteer aims to secure a profit he is not entitled to; the laborer wants pay that he has not earned. We all do. All seek privilege; all seek to form for themselves a privileged group, and then each seeks to become the specially privileged member of that group. Let us look at it from another standpoint. The socialist, who talks much of the equality of man, fails more than most of us in this, our only true equality, the right to fair play. He stands for equal rewards for all, but the giving of equal rewards for unequal service is a deliberate act of injustice. Men not being of equal value are not entitled to equal rewards. There is no greater inequality than the equal treatment of unequals. (Aristotle.)

The principle of maintaining a minimum living wage, even when not fully earned, is socially correct, as are pensions and indemnities when justly awarded, but talent and skill, should also be rewarded. Each man must be free to gain all that he legitimately can. Legitimately, I say,—society through its institutions of control should see to it that no unjust profits are taken. But, on the other hand, it should see to it, too, that man should not be penalized for success, as is the tendency of the times to-day. Equality, then, exists only in the right to fair play; it excludes all artificial privilege; it recognizes the claims of other individuals, and of the social group, as well as the claims of self. It is the very essence of the social spirit, and makes for true fraternity.

Now, another idea, and to emphasize it we will make it our last, for it is of utmost importance and the one which must be made the key to much of our social instruction.

One hears much of the Rights of Man—but we need

not bother especially as to our *rights*, we might far better concern ourselves with our *duties*. Society demands, we know, that man be taught to restrain himself. Man must learn his limitations, then, and his duties. Men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral restraints on their appetites (Burke). Happiness lies in the same way. Rousseau speaks of men as in chains, but what are these chains? They are self imposed. Man has thousands of egoistic desires which cannot be permitted to find expression in our present social life. If a man dwells upon these desires, if he mopes and dreams of what he would do and cannot, then of course he is in chains, and also unhappy. He is headed the wrong way and needs guidance. What he lacks is a true sense of social values. He lacks the sense of fair play to others, and, above all, he lacks a sense of social duty. Let him turn from a contemplation of his egoistic desires, let him turn to a figuring out of his duty in this world, and his happiness returns.

These psychological ideals we have been considering are not many—let me repeat them. Moral suasion, wherever possible, in our dealings with man, rather than coercion. Fair play in all the relations of life, and the instilling into the child of a sense of fair play. And, finally, duty to ourselves and to others. It is not a long list, is it? And yet a world in which these principles prevailed would be a very good world to live in. Keep them in mind—they will help to clear up many perplexing problems.

Let me close with a quotation from Carlyle:

"Let him who gropes painfully in darkness or uncertain light, and prays vehemently that the dawn may ripen into day, lay this precept well to heart. . . . 'Do

the Duty which lies nearest thee'—which thou knowest to be a Duty! The second Duty will already have become clearer. . . . . The situation that has not its Duty, its Ideal, was never yet occupied by man. Yes, here, in this poor, miserable, hampered, despicable Actual, wherein thou even now standest, here or nowhere is thy Ideal: work it out therefrom; and working, believe, live, be free. Fool! The Ideal is in thyself; thy Condition is but the stuff thou art to shape that same Ideal out of; what matters whether such stuff be this sort or that, so the Form thou give it be heroic, be poetic! O thou that pinest in the imprisonment of the Actual, and criest bitterly to the gods for a kingdom wherein to rule and create, know this for a truth; the thing thou seekest is already with thee, 'here or nowhere' could thou only see."

Apply this, you people, to your own lives. Do not be discouraged by the magnitude of your task, and do not let this task degenerate into a mere routine of day's work. Form for yourselves an ideal—recall, maybe, the ideal with which you began your work here—and then live up to this ideal. Perform the duty that lies before you, and realize that in every little accomplished you have really put something of good into this ailing world—a something not there before, but a something which will live forever.

PUBLIC SERVICE ADDRESSES

SERIES 1921-1922 . . . . . No. 8

"DEMOCRACY AND SERVICE"

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY

HON. GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF PHILADELPHIA

DEMOCRACY AND ∴ ∴ SERVICE ∴ ∴

Address delivered by Hon. George Wharton Pepper, under the auspices of the Educational Department of the Municipal Court, in room 676, City Hall, Philadelphia, on Friday, October 28, 1921

Judge Brown: This is the first of the 1921-1922 series of lectures on the public and social service. We have been giving these lectures for some period of time in order that those who are engaged as probation officers in the city of Philadelphia might have the advantage of some instruction from widely known men and women in this country.

We have with us to-day a gentleman of wide experience, an educator and a member of the Philadelphia bar, who will give you I know a message that will benefit you in the performance of your duties both as public servants or in social organizations of the city. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you to-day, Hon. George Wharton Pepper.

ADDRESS

Mr. Pepper: Ladies and Gentlemen:—Anybody who has ever had to make an after-dinner speech remembers the feeling of hopelessness when introduced by a toastmaster who intimated to the assembled diners that the speaker would entertain them and be funny, but the task of being funny seems to me relatively a simple one compared with the task that Judge Brown has laid upon me, which, if I am to believe the invitation he has sent to you, is the task of supplying you with instruction and delivering to you a message. I wish I were adequate for the performance of such a task, but the truth is the wellsprings of one's instruction tend to run dry and messages are often not those which are most needed by those to whom they are delivered.

Please do not be discouraged when I tell you that everything which I shall say to-day is already entirely familiar to you. I have nothing startling to communicate and I should think it an impertinence to obtrude upon experts the crude speculations of a tyro. My aim is merely to lead you to analyze and classify your own thoughts concerning democracy and service and thus to increase the practical usefulness of those thoughts both to you and to others.

At the ball park one day some people in a front row stood up at a critical point in the game. Menacing yells of "down front" from the rest of the bleacher community quickly brought the upstarts to their seats.

At the same game, in the standing crowd, a small boy found his view entirely obscured by the taller

people about him. "Give the kid a chance," cried the neighbors—and they pushed him to the front.

These two homely incidents disclose the two considerations which always lead the crowd to be interested in the individual. One consideration is self-interest. The other is concern for the welfare of a fellow creature.

The self-interest of permanent groups expresses itself in organizing a government. Concern for the other fellow's welfare manifests itself in service. The fans who suppress their objectionable neighbors are really discharging a governmental function. The same fans in giving the lad a chance to enjoy the game are actually engaged in social service.

Some people regard selfishness and unselfishness as opposed to one another. One man is said to differ in kind from another when the first is classified as a selfish man and the other as an altruist. If such an analysis is sound, government and service should be conceived of as at the opposite poles of human interest. Government, upon such a theory, should act impersonally and apply general rules to masses of people. Service should ignore general rules and deal only with the individual.

When I put the matter in this way you see at once that there is something faulty in the analysis. You reflect that it is a practical impossibility to conserve the interest of the crowd unless the individuals in the crowd are happy and contented. You observe that the good-natured impulse to give the small boy a chance to see the game really has behind it a measure of self-interest. If he is not given a fair chance and proceeds to howl in despair, nobody around him can have a good time. You rightly conclude that both selfishness and selflessness are only disturbances of what should be in balance. The man who esteems himself more highly than his neighbor and the man who values his neighbor more highly than himself are trying to tip a scale which should be held even. The thing that we call the Golden Rule is nothing but the formula for pre-

serving a balance between the factors which respectively underlie government and service.

This seems clear when we think about it. And yet much of our practice has been ordered upon the theory that government must always act impersonally and that service to an individual has no scientific relation to service to any other individual.

Think, for a moment, of the operations of government.

Lawyers are always boasting that law is a science—that it is no respecter of persons—that its strength is its universality. Students of legislation point with satisfaction to Constitutional provisions which forbid the enactment of local or special laws. Executive regulations deal with all alike—a military regulation being the extreme case of a rule that must be enforced no matter what ensues.

But another side of the picture is worth glancing at.

As soon as law becomes too abstract and universal, an equity jurisdiction is developed. Equity, according to a classical definition, is the correction of that wherein the law by reason of its universality is deficient. When equity jurisprudence itself becomes crystallized and the courts too far removed from mass contacts, we begin to hear ominous rumblings and daring spirits advocate the recall of judges. Legislators, confronted with the prohibition against individualizing places or people resort to the device of classifying both places and persons in relatively small groups, thus professing to pay deference to the prohibition and at the same time straining it to the breaking point. After general rules of criminal law and procedure have been applied with a result which the executive esteems unjust, the pardoning power can be exercised at the end of the performance instead of at the beginning. Or perhaps an executive officer, perceiving that people are allowed medicine which they do not want and are denied liquor which they do, proceeds to encourage the individual to classify thirst as a disease in order to justify the prescription which is sure to cure it.

If we review with critical eye the operations of government, we shall find that the happiest results are attained when government and service actually become partners in the task of relating the welfare of the individual to the welfare of the crowd.

In some fields of governmental activity this view is universally accepted—at least as a theoretical proposition. Take public education, for example. If there were such a thing as mass education it would not be education at all. Unless in the educational process each individual is to some degree isolated and dealt with according to his specific strength and weakness the result will be arrested development and emaciated personality. A successful gardener cares for his flowers one by one.

We are all accustomed to the contact of government with the individual in the domain of education. From kindergarten to university we expect the State to offer opportunities to the young and to compel or urge the young to take advantage of them. We have considered it too plain for argument that there should be trained teachers, adequate school equipment and a pedagogical method which tends to individualize the child. Why? Because the machinery of government will not long work unless young citizens are trained to take their places in the social system. We can't enjoy the show if the child beside us is shrieking with disappointment or rage. The nearer our approach to pure democracy the more important to all of us that each should have educational experience. Autocracy or aristocracy may get results while ignorance abounds, but democracy never can. A vague recognition of this truth leads us Americans to rhapsodize about our public school system; but our grasp of the truth is not yet firm enough to make us pour cheerfully into the school fund the money necessary to make its work effective.

While we have come to recognize that in education government must serve each individual and regard him as a separate object of concern, we have

been slow to perceive how widely the same principle should be applied.

What is education? It is self-development in response to stimulus. It is the process by which a man discovers his latent powers and drafts them for use.

What, then, is the limit of education? There is no limit, except when the individual, through physical or moral degeneracy, has become incapable of responding to stimuli. It is a grave mistake to think of the educational process as applicable only to the innocent young. It is worse than a mistake to divide people into the good and the bad and advocate education for one group and punishment for the other. It is or ought to be the concern of government that there shall be applied to each individual the stimulus needed to develop his latent powers. There are relatively few people, if any, who are altogether beyond the reach of redeeming influence. There is a ring of truth in the maxim that a man may be down but never out. The grown man who has never had a chance should be a subject of equal public concern with the child in the kindergarten. The man or the woman with a criminal record is in need of the educational process as much as the most punctual scholar in Sunday-school. All these people, the young and the old, those whom (God forgive us!) we classify as the depraved and the degenerate—all of them have latent powers. If we give them a chance to see the game—if we help them to discover these powers and to draft them for use, all these people will remain seated when a double play is in progress and we shall discover that our interest and theirs is identical.

The Municipal Court and its socializing activities represent government in contact with the individual. The creation and record of the Court is a standing answer to those who would build a bulkhead between government and service. It is not an extravagant statement to assert that this Court is part of the public school system of the community.

When I examine the report of the Municipal Court and the report of the Board of Education I am driven to the conclusion that I am considering different phases of the same subject. When I was a teacher it was my constant effort to suggest the essential unity of courses ordinarily classified as strangers to one another. Imagine attempting to consider space without a simultaneous consideration of time. But geography is our race in its space-relations and history is our race in time. A child should not be set to study geography in one course and history in another. Neither has any meaning without the other. The story of the race is a single story, combining in a single record what we have done in time and space. So the educational activities of the community should be thought of as a whole. Adequate financing, suitable equipment, dignified and even majestic housing—these are the due of our great systematic efforts to stimulate the individual to discover and use his latent powers.

Glance at the departments of the Court's work. Interpret each as an educational agency. In the Domestic Relations Division there is laboratory work in that extended field. Divorce stands in the same relation to married life as suicide does to the life of the individual. It is a confession of hopeless failure. The aim of this division is to help people find a solution of their problem which may convert defeat into victory.

Then there is the Criminal Division. I wish it were called the Crimes Division. That is a classification according to the fact. I am opposed to calling a man a criminal merely because he has been accused or convicted of crime. We ought not to classify our fellow beings but only the things they do. After all, this is the thought that underlies the contacts of the Court officers with the individual. The aim is to serve the community by serving him. If punishment is meted out it is regarded as part of a needed service. It is not an insolent attempt to vindicate divine justice.

And so of the Misdemeanants' Division and the Juvenile Division. Each is an educational agency; and as each is studied you perceive that the so-called probation officer is really misnamed. It is not his business to put a man to the test. His function is to stimulate the man to develop himself to meet the inevitable test. He is an educator in the truest sense of the term. He needs the temperament and training of the teacher. He ranks as an officer of the Court; but his official character should be lost in his manhood. For this reason the Educational Work of the Court, specifically so called, is just as important in this field of education as teacher-training is to the public schools or West Point to the Army or Annapolis to the Navy. If government is to serve the individual, the thing must be done through a human agent and the agent must be equipped for his difficult and glorious task.

And this leads me back to a point reached a while ago. I marked the steady tendency of successful government to consider the individual and not to deal merely with generalities applicable to people in the mass. I now call attention to the equal and opposite tendency of service to deal with the individual only in the light of general rules. This suggests the thought that if we turn to service for relief when government becomes too coldly scientific we must see to it that service has not become incapable of relief by crystallizing itself into too rigid a science.

Like so many situations in life, here is a case in which we must steer resolutely between the whirlpool and the rock. Government must be socialized —but not beyond the point at which the interests of the individual and of the community are in balance. And this is the point beyond which service must not be systematized or it will defeat its own ends. A government which pays greater regard to the interests of individuals is a tyranny. A service which submerges the individual in a sea of regulations and case-records is not service but exquisite torture.

The recent effort at Constitutional Revision in Pennsylvania was an attempt to bring government and the individual nearer together. Our existing Constitution is a magnificent system of rigid generalities. It would have been a great thing if the task of relaxing and particularizing could have been undertaken at this time when there is little danger that either process would be carried too far. Our people are rapidly developing a social consciousness and such a popular process may go too far. If it does, those who successfully obstructed the movement for revision at this time, may find in the end that they gained only a Pyrrhic victory.

In what I have said so far I have emphasized the contact of government with the individual through the Municipal Court. It is characteristic of democracy, however, that government is only one of many agencies through which the community expresses itself. It is the glory of democracy that it imposes a minimum restraint upon the liberty of the individual to do as he pleases. As the vast majority of us please to do what is best neither for ourselves nor for the community, democratic government might prove hopelessly ineffective were it not supplemented by voluntary unofficial agencies which do the things which the government does not undertake at all or touches only in a half-hearted way.

It is therefore in a democracy that the call to service is loudest. While it is self-interest or care for the other man that moves the many to concern themselves for the welfare of the one, there is in a democracy the obligation resting upon each individual citizen to serve the many in ways additional to those which government undertakes. Under such a form of government as ours the duty of service ranks higher than under any other. It was a happy inspiration which caused a distinguished fellow citizen of ours to force the ideal of service upon the attention of everybody in this community by establishing an award to be made annually to the person who within the year has deserved best of his

fellow citizens. When in response to the appeal for service voluntary agencies come into existence and are doing their work, there are two opinions respecting the relation in which they should stand to the State. One opinion is that the State should exercise nothing but visitatorial powers over them. The other opinion is that the privately controlled agency may properly receive appropriations of public money to an extent not exceeding the cost of the public work which, but for the existence of the agency, it would be the duty of the State to do directly. The abuses growing out of applications for charitable appropriation have led many people to take the former view. There are others, however, and I am one of them, who believe that in a democracy such as ours it is a healthy thing to supplement government agencies for social service by extending State aid to private institutions existing for the same end, always provided that a method of appropriation and administration can be devised which will guard against the evils of the existing system. Such a method was in fact devised by the Commission on Constitutional Revision and embodied in the draft Constitution submitted to the Legislature. It is an additional reason for regret that this proposal was rendered ineffective by the blocking of the entire movement by the reactionary interests that were opposed to it.

In time past we have suffered, even in the case of private agencies for social service, from their tendency to interpret their function too narrowly. The social service departments which in recent years have become integral parts of our great hospitals are a happy recognition of responsibility for something more than temporary attention to bodily ailments.

It goes without saying that the individual social worker in the service of a private institution is subject to the same tendency that besets the social worker in the service of the State—the tendency, namely, to lay upon his method an emphasis which

should rather be placed upon the life of the individual whom he is seeking to serve.

This tendency you are all more or less successfully resisting. Each of you doubtless knows where to find the springs of inspiration which make you glory in the day's work and count it supreme happiness to spend and be spent for your fellowman. No one can be of much help to another in the great crises of life unless there is a secret chamber in his being into which he can withdraw from time to time and find himself in the presence of his ideal. The ideal may vary according to the philosophy or the religious conviction of the individual. In that secret chamber he may be aware of the presence of the Master who said of himself, "I am among you as one who serveth." The chamber may be filled with the glory of the Lord of Hosts and the man may emerge as if he were a ministering angel sent straight from the Throne. Or the ideal may be impersonal—the duty to one's country, to one's community or to one's race. Whatever be the ideal, let it be enshrined in the inmost recesses of being. Have recourse to it not merely at stated times but whenever there is a great demand upon one's stored influence and power. From these communings with your unseen ideal you will go forth to your task with unconquerable optimism and overflowing joy.

Judge Brown: I knew that Mr. Pepper would bring to all a real message to-day. I do not think I introduced him improperly, if he thought I had. I want to thank him in behalf of the people here, who are striving to do and are doing a great piece of work in this community. I want to thank him in your behalf, as well as my own, for this wonderful address that he has given us.

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THE VALUE OF PROBATION

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY

Rev. RUSSELL H. CONWELL, D. D.

The National Development of Probation

CHARLES L. CHUTE

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF PHILADELPHIA

THE VALUE OF ∴ PROBATION ∴

Address delivered by Rev. Russell H. Conwell, D. D., under the auspices of the Educational Department of the Municipal Court, in room 676, City Hall, Philadelphia, Friday, December 23, 1921

Hon. Charles L. Brown, President of the National Probation Association and President Judge of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia:

This is a continuation of the course of public lectures to instruct those who are engaged in helping the poor and other people in distress in the City of Philadelphia, not only the probation officers in the Municipal Court, but also those who come here from other social agencies in the city. I think that you have been profited—I know I have—by the preceding addresses of men and women who have appeared here, and I know that you will be profited by what you hear to-day from a man who has lived very many years in the City of Philadelphia, although not born here, who has done a marvelous piece of work.

I recall when a boy visiting the church at Mervine and Berks Streets, called the Grace Baptist Church, when it was run down, and the present speaker of the day was called as the pastor of the church. They wondered whether he could build it up, and I well remember how he was received, and how that church started to grow immediately; how he put his hand upon the young boy and the young girl, gathered them in his study, as the beginning of a school of instruction, of helpfulness to young boys and girls for their future lives and for their usefulness to the community; then it grew so that it broke into a house adjoining on Mervine Street, and I remember going there and getting my instruction in Latin, Greek and German from able professors who gave their services voluntarily or with small compensation, to join in the work for which he was responsible. Now you know what it has grown to, the great

Temple University, that covers the ground from the church at Berks Street to Montgomery Avenue. It instructs at night pupils who work during the day, in order that they may be profited themselves and in their turn profit the community at large. Many a life has been saved and many a mind has been trained, of the young as well as those well along in life, in that school. Doctor Conwell was the man who started the Board of Education to open night schools in this City of Philadelphia.

It is a great pleasure to present to you to-day the Reverend Doctor of Divinity who has been so useful to so many thousands of people in God's kingdom, who will talk to you upon the Value of Probation—the Reverend Dr. Russell H. Conwell.

ADDRESS

Dr. Conwell: Mr. President and friends: I come to you weak from hard work and the effects of almost four score years, to talk to you in the freest and frankest manner concerning the church's relations to this movement and thus bring it under the title which has been given to me. I know that most of you here to-day are better acquainted with social service than I am. I know that the psychologists can treat that side of the subject as I cannot, and I know that these jurists, like the judges here, are better acquainted with the practical application of the law in court, and these probation officers and social visitors are better acquainted with the results of probation in our city than I am.

But when the invitation came, to come down and show by my presence an interest in a movement like this, I could not fail to do it, even though it was against the advice of the physician who kept me in bed all day until now. It is a very important question and perhaps one into which I may bring something of inspiration.

The work of the probation officer of the court is one of those strange outside movements which are driving into the church a degree of common sense and true religion. It is one of those altruistic undertakings which the church ought long ago to have initiated, but which now large-hearted and wise men and women are forcing upon the attention of the church. Instead of saying "the church," I will use the word "religion," because then there will be no sectarianism about it, and the former phrase to me smacks of the theologian. The probation movement is one of the most intensely interesting topics as well

as one of the most advantageous challenges. As a topic it brings up the great theories of our religion. While we may be divided into schools: at the beginning, some people think, Adam and Eve were created perfect as is said in the first chapter of Genesis; others believe that it was the outcome of evolution from the lower orders of animal life, while still others, a third class, believe that both of those theories are correct when properly combined. But I will not go back to that theory in our practical application of the subject. We can see, from what is all around us on every side, that man is progressing from a lower order of life to the higher orders of life. We also recognize the fact that there is evidently a design, a great Divine design in the upbuilding of humanity. As we glance forward, with the Prophets behind us and with the teachings of Christ behind us, we can see that the time is coming when on this earth there will be a perfect humanity, there will be no imperfection of body, no imperfection of mind, no imperfection of character or purpose of living. We are looking forward to that time. It is promised to us in the Scriptures, it is promised to us in nature. Your organization is recognizing that fact with singular emphasis.

We are striving to make humanity more perfect, and in that we are serving God. No matter what may be our sectarian connection, we are all agreed upon this—that the way to serve God is to serve humanity, and when Christ spoke to us as a Prophet of the Christian Church, he said that inasmuch as ye have done these things, these good things, to these brethren of mine, ye have done it unto Me, and he put that down as the test of the right to eternal life. He set it down. Who are these that shall be received in heaven and welcomed there? These who have visited the sick, these that have visited the poor, these that have gone to those in prison. All these I must not here recite, because it is too theoretical perhaps to waste your time upon now. You know it as well as I do.

All this teaches that the religious people of the world believe that the way to serve God is to serve mankind, and inasmuch as we have done something helpful to bring a man into a more perfect condition of living, mentally, physically and spiritually, we have served the Lord and shall receive from Him that commendation "Well done!"

Many people are in this movement who do not belong to any church. They may belong to the Jewish synagogue, or they may belong to some department of the Christian Church. But they are all looking forward with this same common purpose, to religiously build up mankind, womankind and children into a better and higher form of living. There are many agencies at work doing this. The college gives mental instruction, the churches give moral instruction, and the courts are supposed to prevent—hitherto they have been supposed to prevent—the injurious effects of bad influences upon mankind. The laws of the land have hitherto been almost altogether prohibitive, and the people of the church, or those of any religious feeling or knowledge, recognize the fact that you cannot make a man good by force. Probably the most temperate place in the world is Blackwell's Island in New York, where there are very many that would drink if they could, but cannot drink because they are behind stone walls. No man can claim to be a temperance man if he is simply so by force. If a man cannot commit a crime and would do it if he could, it is a fair judgment, and common sense to say that he is a bad man anyhow, has a bad heart. And yet it is necessary to have prohibitive law. It is necessary I think, to prohibit the establishment of saloons that would teach or instruct the young in ways of wickedness that would degrade humanity. I think it is a prohibitive thing that the law ought to do for the sake of avoiding the instruction that tends downward. But the prohibiting of drinking, and we all recognize the fact, does not make a temperance man any more than prohibiting swearing would make him

a prayerful man. The prohibition does not change the heart, only it is necessary to prevent the injurious influences that would come in. It is simply, as the Christian looks upon it, a preventive law. The law does not reform anybody. The law does not lift anyone up—but has rather, thrown him down; and the history of our country shows that we have been hindered from great progress in our Christian civilization by the instruction which lesser criminals have obtained from greater criminals in the prisons and in the jails. The whole tendency of it hitherto, before this probation movement began, has been to degrade humanity. It has been used to protect the humanity that was outside. If a man or a woman may be so bad as to sow diseases of blindness and wickedness all the time, the law comes in and takes that man or woman out of society in order to protect the innocents upon whom he would throw a deleterious influence. But when it takes that man out, it has hitherto thought that that was the goal of its duty—to get that man out of society just as soon as it can. It is necessary to do that sometimes for the protection of society. We must not try to save one at the expense of a hundred, so we have taken him out of society or sent him to the electric chair. Therefore, the common sense of the world has aroused itself, as this movement distinctly shows. It has come to see that these criminals, these people that do wrong, should also be built up in their humanity, that their physical system should be made more healthful, that their minds should be made more clear, that their standards of morality should be raised, and that their hopes of religion or of eternal life shall be increased, in order that that portion of society may be saved with the rest. While by law we protect the rest, the probation movement comes in, working with the law, under the law, and tries to save even this section which we have regarded as the enemy of society and hence had to put out of contact or out of existence immediately. Therefore, our religion combines with this movement

in the closest way. There isn't one of you that goes out to visit the poor and sick and needy for the purpose of helping them physically, mentally and morally, but what is serving God, and serving God along side of myself, though I am in the church and you may not be. The great standard of living is to live for our fellowmen, to put out our hand to the weak, lift up the fallen, instruct the ignorant, heal the sick and preach the gospel of the Kingdom, and anyone who does that is doing the work of the Lord. Therefore, I say that to-day you have reached a point in the history of this association when your appeal should be made very strongly to the churches. Every religious body, if it stops to think of its fundamental beliefs and of its hopes of eternal life being founded on the service of humanity, will at once heed that appeal to work with you, because it is their work. It is essentially the religious work of the country or of the people. I feel it so or I would not have accepted the invitation to come here in my busy life of to-day. This movement, which has been inaugurated in Philadelphia, of which we are all proud, has accomplished great things.

But while we are working on, working with an obstinate and slow city like this, we need to have the whole country realize, we need to have the whole public see that these criminals are many of them accidental, or if not accidental, perhaps the result of training, early training, and that they can return. You well know that. I need not discuss that. They can return. I am satisfied of that. You have seen it in your experience, and I know it by theory, and am preaching it from the pulpit continually, that mankind is to be raised up by these influences; and that "the worst sinner can return" is the faith of many of our orthodox Christian denominations. "While the lamp holds out to burn, the vilest sinner may return" and this probation movement has accepted that theory and throws it back upon us. We who are in various religious organizations have not realized what was the great opportunity to carry

on the work of the Lord. To us the probation movement is peculiarly the work of the Lord. You cannot read of Christ visiting the sick and going around doing good without realizing the fact that that is the essential foundation of religious service. Therefore, I commend to you this practical thought, that in the future (as you have here, Judge Charles L. Brown, the head of your national organization and the head of your city organization), I recommend right here from the experience of many years among the poor, that you put this into immediate actual appeal to the religious bodies of all kinds, and ask them as a matter of principle, to come out and help us do the work of the Lord. It is not they that say, "Lord, Lord," that come into the Kingdom, but they that do. "Get up and do something" is the thing that ought to be said to every member of every religious church: not only to pray, which is a good thing to do; not only to go and worship, which is also a good thing; but get out and do something. If there is any organization on the face of the earth that I think represents the religious feelings, sentiments, and truths of the religious people of the world, it certainly is this one. I cannot think of one that comes so close home to those of us who are professing religious people. Therefore, I say, I think we would all be glad to work with you if once the idea was pressed through. Of course it would take a long while to do that in Philadelphia, but you will get the idea through Philadelphia after a while if you keep dropping. The continual dropping of water will wear away the stone, and if you keep that before them and say to the religious people of Philadelphia, "Come right in, because we are doing your work," then they will see the point. They must see it very soon. I prophesy that in ten years every city and town in the State will approve of this movement which has been inaugurated here to such great advantage. A criminal will be regarded as a person to be reformed, a person to be lifted higher than he now is, and consequently all laws that are pro-

hibitive will only prohibit those things that tend to degrade humanity, to drag it down from that perfect ideal which the Lord has set before us. Believing myself that nature clearly teaches that we are going to find in the ages to come perfect men and women, absolutely perfect; believing that, as is taught now in all the churches of the world, I believe it is our duty to work with the spirit of God in any place where we can lift up man toward that great and beautiful ideal. Anyhow it seems that not only Nature's intuitions teach it, but the holy impulses of the human heart. Sin breeds enforced misery, sorrow, poverty. Let us pity them, and yet not pity them exclusively—as I say again, we need to be warned not to so pity them, that we refuse to pity those who might be carried down by them if we did not protect society from them. But the great thought is ever before me, and I am glad to come and emphasize it, if it is in my power to do it, and tell you that I am sure that so far as my observation in the religious community is concerned, you will find that Jew and Gentile alike will all move toward this work when they once realize that the social service worker and the probation officer is the ideal laborer in the Kingdom of God.

Judge Brown: I knew that you would hear something that was well worth while. Doctor Conwell has the faculty of bringing things right home to you, making you as an individual realize your duty, your responsibility. He graphically tells you about Christ and his ministrations on earth, how Jesus called those wonderful men away from their fishing at Capernaum. They were not the college and educated men of the day. "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men." That is the inspiration that he is trying to get into you and that we have been trying to get into you. Never be discouraged in your effort, and you will find, as you have found in the past, those of you who are

attached to the court, that the people to whom you go, recognizing the element of authority that you carry with you, will give a more gracious response, and you will be able to help them more quickly than otherwise you would.

We can say to Doctor Conwell that all these people work with the church. They try to get the church interested in the individual that they are endeavoring to help and try to bring about the contact that will help them. I know one of the things that I ask the boys that come before me is, "Do you go to Sunday-school?" And I am a little afraid our parents are not so insistent to-day about their boys and girls going to Sunday-school as they were when I was a boy. It was the Sunday-school in my life that produced whatever was in me. You have got to touch the heart, whether it be that of the boy or girl or the man or woman. That is a wonderful slogan that the Salvation Army has, "A man may be down but he is never out." And how many have they saved? I have seen men that could hardly talk the English language without almost murdering it suddenly being converted, and what eloquent speakers they became in our churches, in our prayer meetings! Out of the wisdom of the heart the mouth speaketh, and those only that know God have wisdom in their hearts. It is not the mind but the sympathies of the heart that enable you to see where you can help; and as Doctor Conwell has so well said, there is nothing so profoundly interesting and productive in this world as being able and willing to help some one in distress.

It now gives me great pleasure to present to you the National Secretary of the Probation Association, Mr. Charles L. Chute.

THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ∴ ∴ OF PROBATION ∴ ∴

By Charles L. Chute
Secretary, National Probation Association

Mr. Chute: After the eloquent and fundamental statement of principles we have just listened to, my purpose is not to deliver an address, but briefly to point the moral, presenting some practical deductions and facts regarding probation and the social organization of the courts nationally.

I agree with all that Doctor Conwell has said except one thing, and that is on the difficulty or need of educating Philadelphia to the value of probation. If there is any more education necessary, it should not be difficult because of the demonstration which has been going on here in the Municipal Court of what well organized probation work can do. But of course there is always need to bring to the average man, to the people generally here and everywhere, just what is being done. We all know that it is a deplorable fact in our democracy that the public servant is elected or appointed and then left with little attention or encouragement from the people in his work. In the branch of public service which we are considering—probation, the social work of the courts—there is especial need for well directed publicity so as to promote the absolutely vital co-operation and support of the public.

The first moral I would draw from the address of Doctor Conwell is that if probation work and the organization of the courts for social work is so valuable, has accomplished so much, where it has been developed, why not extend it and carry it out everywhere throughout the country?

Let us consider a few facts regarding the development of this work. The first fact that is shown clearly is that the value of probation is being proved by its very remarkable spread throughout the country. Organized probation work has practically all developed during the past decade. To be exact,

before 1899 there was only one state in the whole country, namely Massachusetts, that had probation at all. At present every state in the union has a probation law and at least some probation work, although in thirteen states there is only juvenile probation. In all but two states there are juvenile courts. The domestic relations court, which has been so successful here in Philadelphia, is more recent and less developed. Only a few of the larger states have good domestic relations court work. Of course we believe that there should be probation work wherever there is a court. There should be juvenile court work wherever there are children to be cared for by public authority. Domestic relations or family courts are as important as juvenile courts to deal socially with intimate family problems which require great care.

We may become too optimistic. We may think that probation has extended to every state and therefore, there is nothing more to be done. But it does not take much observation to realize that the passing of a law is only the beginning of a work of this character. Many states have scarcely begun to develop organized probation work. In some states it is found only in a few large cities. Rural probation work is scarcely known though greatly needed. Few states have any effective state organization or supervision though this is beginning to be developed rapidly.

What then is our responsibility, the responsibility of the cities where good work has been built up, and where good results have been secured? It seems to me that we are directly responsible for giving information about our work and for aiding other communities that want to know about it and want to develop their own work.

This country has been called a melting pot of ideas as well as people, an experimental laboratory for all social legislation, because each individual state has gone ahead alone and developed a different set of laws and different systems of organization. Such is especially the case in this field of work. I

don't know why there is so much divergence, unless it is due to the fact that this work especially depends on laws for its initiation, and the development of legislation has been very different in the different states. At any rate the systems in the various states are very divergent. For instance, there is the state of Ohio which has well organized juvenile courts in every county, with jurisdiction up to the age of eighteen, with domestic relations courts doing splendid work in four counties, but outside of this almost no adult probation work.

Then there are the Southern states, backward in legislation and development in all fields of social work. In many states old ideas still prevail and children are still imprisoned and detained in contact with adult criminals. In other states the appointment of paid probation officers is seldom resorted to, practically all work of this character being carried on by volunteer agencies.

So we have the backward states, where very little social court work is done; we have great, progressive northern states, where only one side of the work has been developed; and we have no state, with the possible exception of Massachusetts, fully organized with probation work in all courts.

There should be a national system in probation work. We all know that the criminal problem, the delinquency problem, knows no state lines. Probation officers must get information from other states, must transfer cases and receive them from other states, and without this work established in these other states, this service cannot be performed. Offenders go from state to state, and thus escape supervision. This is particularly an evil in desertion and non-support cases. The man may cross a state line and get away entirely from the jurisdiction of the court, the family becoming a public charge. With a probation system all over the country this could not happen. The cases could be checked up and reached, and information secured from every locality.

It is hardly necessary to advance other reasons for the extension of probation nationally and for more uniformity in the various states. I will only refer briefly to one other matter: probation in the Federal Courts. The very courts which one would think ought to be best equipped, the United States Courts, have no probation work at all. One of the definite objects of the National Probation Association has been to get a good probation system established in the Federal Courts, not only because they need it, having many young offenders, even juvenile offenders, coming before them frequently, but because it would be a stimulus and an example to all the states to have the United States Congress enact a good probation law, and would aid probation in all the states.

I want to give you a sort of a report, because most of you are members of the association and are aiding in its development, outlining a few things that have been recently accomplished and others in contemplation by our organization. The National Probation Association, as you know, has among its members and in its Board of Directors many of the more progressive judges and leading probation workers of the country. Its membership is open to every one interested in this work. As a result it has grown until we have about eleven hundred members scattered throughout the country, each of them receiving literature and co-operating in the work the Association is carrying on. We are seeking to establish state organizations and local committees everywhere, and some very good beginnings have been made in this direction, especially in the states of Ohio and Kentucky, in the City of Baltimore, and in other places. We have formed contacts with state associations in the States of Illinois, California, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and other states.

Another object of the association is the establishment of state supervision and aid to probation and court work. A beginning has been made in Pennsylvania through the Department of Public Welfare and

it is greatly needed. As Secretary for over seven years of the New York State Probation Commission, I believe very strongly in state supervision. Without it the work, as in the state of Pennsylvania to-day may be strong in the few larger cities and not at all developed in the rural parts of the state. I think we all realize to-day that the need for this work is just as great, if not greater in proportion to the population, in the rural districts, in the town and villages all over this country, as in the cities because of the lack of other social agencies. In some states rural probation has been developed effectively, with probation officers working at large in several courts, securing the use of volunteer help, so that the probation system is available to every judge in a county, or district.

Some very definite things that the Association wants to do, are to raise the standard of the probation profession through providing education, definite courses of instruction, both for candidates for probation officers and for the probation officers themselves after they have begun the work. This work has been carried on in the Municipal Court of Philadelphia in connection with the School of Social Work. In most cities there is very little educational work done and little opportunity to secure trained officers is afforded. If this work is, as Doctor Conwell has said, so important, so responsible a mission, how important that there should be educational qualifications and experience qualifications for the officers coming into the work.

Good progress has been made in providing definite instruction for probation officers in a number of universities and special schools; in this the Association is aiding. Through committees we plan to take up during this coming year, with a certain number of universities and special schools, the putting in of new courses that will prepare for probation work, so that candidates can by taking these courses acquire the education they need. During the last year we have been in touch with several universities,

especially Chicago, Michigan and the Ohio State University as well as with the New York School of Social Work, to help plan out courses for putting probation work and methods directly into these courses, thus giving practical training to students who will afterwards become probation officers.

We are going to need more and better officers as the work extends. The demand for probation officers is increasing very rapidly. For instance, only a month ago there was a campaign carried on by the chief probation officer in Detroit and as a result there were created ten new positions in that city. That is happening all the time. New positions are being established where needed. I venture to say that not a single court, not even Philadelphia, though you come nearest to it, has an adequate number of officers to give the individual helpful, personal attention to the probation cases, which is the very essence of probation work. It is personal service and personal contact and knowledge of the probationer with thorough investigation of the cases for the court which will make the work successful and prove its value to the public. This kind of work cannot be expected from such overworked probation officers as we have in so many places.

There is the greatest need for standardizing. Down in the City of Baltimore, there are only fifteen probation officers in the whole city. They are all overworked. There are probation officers at work in Baltimore to-day that have over three hundred cases, supposedly under their supervision or on their books. The system is mere checking up, seeing them a few times during the probation period. It is not real probation work. That sort of thing hinders all probation work.

We have all probably had to discuss the crime wave during the last year or two. I have maintained that the crime wave, so far as it is a reality—and it has not meant a large increase in crime, but rather an increase of the more spectacular crimes of violence—I have maintained that it is due nowhere

to the use of probation or parole, or other modern methods, but rather to the lack of them. There has been just as much talk about the crime wave in cities with practically no adult probation, as there is in cities that have a complete development of probation. There is no connection except that it is rather a lack of such scientific methods as probation that has made possible crime wave. If we had had a complete equipment of social courts, if every delinquent that came to court for the first time were investigated, the causes of crime ascertained and the right treatment provided, there would not be this development of real criminals. Almost always these confirmed, professional criminals, in whom we cannot be very much interested because they are not subjects for probation, are found to have a record of repeated court appearances, usually repeated commitments to reformatories and prisons. Hence our courts and our reformatories are responsible and have failed in not giving the right treatment at the right time, thereby preventing crime.

We need more surveys of court work. We want to have more data available of the good work that has been done and be able to send this out to courts where they are just starting. Often new laws extending the system are put through. The judges, the probation officers just appointed in these places, want to know the best methods that have been employed. To do this they must write or apply somewhere for information. This they are doing constantly through the officers of the National Probation Association. To get the most effective results there must be an extension of this work into the places where special work and special campaigns are needed, to establish and develop probation work. This we have done in several cities and want to do to a greater extent, so that the system of probation may become national and cover the whole country.

We feel that the National Association can do a great service by acting as a sort of special employment bureau, not leaving to the general employment

bureaus the securing and placing of officers in this profession. We have on hand applications from courts for probation officers. We have many requests from probation officers who would like to change their positions or who are available for new work.

The publication of reports, proceedings of conferences and other literature have been valuable, and should be made more valuable. The Annual Conference has become an institution but we feel that one national conference is not sufficient, there should be regional conferences and special meetings, local meetings, to get together the people who are interested in this work locally for interchange of ideas and acquaintance.

The needs of the Association, in order to do all this, are for more members, and more support; with this we shall be able to carry on a larger work and serve the nation more effectively. In all this work we naturally appeal to Philadelphia, because Philadelphia has been especially interested in the National Association, and particularly this year, when the President of the Association, is your own Judge Brown. We do not feel that Philadelphia will be hard to interest in the broader field of extension and standardization of this service, which ought to reach into all the courts of the United States.

Judge Brown: I want to thank you for coming here to-day. It is now late in the afternoon and a good many of you want to finish your shopping. But I know you have enjoyed your visit here, and I want to thank Doctor Conwell again in your behalf for his wonderfully instructive talk to you and the encouragement he has given you; and I want to thank Mr. Chute. Of course, if something is good here, it ought to be extended all over the country, and it was my earnest thought that if anything could come out of the struggle in establishing this tribunal here, that was

worth while, that every big community throughout this country would demand its establishment there. We know that Doctor McCarthy, who was the representative of our government in the study of the prison camps in Germany before we went into this great last war, and who later went back to Petrograd as a representative of the government, had made a study of this tribunal. He sent me a report from Vancouver, and when he returned he said, "Those are big people over there in Russia. They have a social director in charge of the courts and he asked me about the courts in this country. I dictated to him the plan of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, and it is in operation in Petrograd to-day. Then I gave him a blueprint survey of our Medical Department. He said, 'Let me have that and I will put it over,' and the beauty of it is, it will be established at once."

Harking back from Petrograd, we had a committee from the Japanese Government that spent some days in our court, studying it, taking our reports and literature. Later we had a very wonderful communication from a high official, thanking us for our courtesy. We had the matter studied by a commission appointed by the Parliament in England, and a communication sent to us from different parts of England, from Birmingham, where they made a digest of our court work here, and sent it over for our correction, or additions or suggestions, in order that it may be put in operation in England. The whole world, as Doctor Conwell has told you, is awaking to the necessity of looking after our children, who are our governing people of the future. If we neglect them, and if we neglect the grown-up children—because that is all we are—we are doing an injury to the future of civilization, and if we neglect our homes and leave the women who fall out with their husbands to separate, the children are in danger if we would let them shift as they used to years ago, and give them no education. All forms of government in this world, even in the tribal

relationship, are built around the home, and I conceive, if we do not know what causes the separations, if we do not look into their physical defects, and hold those homes together, we are puncturing the structure of the government.

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HUMANIZING JUSTICE

BY

MAXIMILIAN P. E. GROSZMANN, Pd. D.

THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF PHILADELPHIA

HUMANIZING JUSTICE

A Brief Study of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia

By

MAXIMILIAN P. E. GROSZMANN, Pd. D.

Under the auspices of the National Association for the Study and Education of Exceptional Children

This compilation includes in part addresses delivered in the Municipal Court Public Service Series 1921-22 given November, 1921, Dr. Charles Platt presiding; also before the Emergency Aid Association of Pennsylvania, and to a group of social workers at the City Club, December, 1921

According to "Who's Who in America, 1920-21," Dr. Maximilian P. E. Groszmann is an educator, and directed the Ethical Culture School, New York City, 1890-7. Later he entered the field of work with atypical children; founded a school for atypical children in New York in 1900.

Founder, educational director and trustee of the National Association for the Study and Education of Exceptional Children. Member of the National Education Association. Honorary member German Social-Scientific Society, New York. Member American Academy of Medicine.

Author: The Common School and the New Education, 1897; A Working System of Child Study for Schools, 1897; The Career of the Child from the Kindergarten to the High School, 1911; Some Fundamental Verities in Education, 1911; Education of Individual Children, 1912; The Exceptional Child, 1917.

Also extensive contributor to educational magagines on general education and on the problem of the exceptional child, its classification, condition and training.

Graduate, Gymnasium of St. Elizabeth, Breslau; Städtisches Gymnasium, Ohlau; University of Greifswald, 1876; Pd.D., New York University, 1893.

HUMANIZING JUSTICE

Human failure includes a variety of unfortunate conditions which cannot all be studied through the analysis of public records. Much of the unhappiness which such failure entails is hidden in family closets, and few outsiders suspect the presence of a skeleton which haunts the consciousness, or the conscience, of many "respectable" citizens. Really happy homes are not so numerous as we may wish.

Nevertheless, the cases which come to public knowledge, through our courts and criminal procedure, and through our manifold welfare agencies, throw light upon the general problem of success and failure in life. What is hidden from public view is essentially in line with conditions such as are exposed to the student of court records and the visitor of court sessions. An analysis of court cases will therefore be helpful in understanding the mainsprings of human emotions and the causes of human failure generally. At the bottom of all unhappiness or derailment, of all problems of conduct, there is the *emotional* life of the individual, with all its legitimate and perverted expressions.

It requires no argument to convince us that the germ of all human failure is planted in childhood. Whether it will atrophy, or grow into rank exuberance, is often a matter of environmental conditions. Some individuals seem, through hereditary causes or early damaging influences, predestined to destruction; others would seem unduly favored. But it would appear, from a careful investigation of factors and circumstances, that there is indeed only a small percentage of humans whose fate is predetermined, so to speak, to unescapable doom; there is a

divine spark in practically all which needs to be fanned and nursed to bring light and warmth into the lives of the many.

Human failure is usually viewed in terms of poverty, dependency, delinquency, misdemeanor, and crime, with their variations and branches. The police, the courts, the prisons, are dealing with these cases; on the social side, public and private provisions for so-called welfare work are intended to counterbalance evil influences that make for defeat, and to supply help and positive, uplifting stimuli.

As long as court procedure is based upon the old idea of crime and its punishment, it represents at best only an element of defense on the part of society in its war against anti-social activities, and is essentially negative in aim and purpose. It is a war measure pure and simple. It secures peace only by the employment of a sort of military tactics, by organizing an army of defense, and by court-martialing the social enemy, the "offender." Peace thus bought is a spurious and insecure product. It is constantly broken, and society remains in a state of perpetual warfare.

To be constructive, court procedure must dismiss the idea of social warfare and must be based upon the recognition of each individual as an integral part of the social whole. Even the "offender" is still a unit, a possible asset, in this social total, and may, for all we know, represent high potentials of value. There is a minimal proportion of human life irreducible to social service—the strictly abnormal residue which is outside of human society. However, to imagine that an "offense" of whatever kind places the "offender" immediately outside of the human brotherhood and makes him an enemy to be fought, is as erroneous as if we would brand a medical patient as an outcast on account of his disease. The conscientious physician will endeavor to diagnose the cause of the patient's trouble and establish curative measures on the basis of his findings; likewise, "delinquencies" should be diagnosed as to causes

and conditions. Perchance, these causes and conditions are of a kind for which the moral patient is as little responsible as is the medical patient for his fever.

Courts, therefore, should be considered in the light of these meditations. They must be converted into places where the case of each "offender" is carefully and sympathetically studied, and where relief is sought, not so much for the individual as for the situation which this individual represents. Punitive measures, whenever found necessary, can have only the function of educational, reconstructive discipline, outside of the relatively small number of cases of the unredeemable with whom it is a matter of custodial care.

This is clear to all who will reflect that the material with which the courts are dealing is precisely the same that our schools and homes deal with. The same children whom we meet in the classrooms and playgrounds, in the streets and highways, in the houses and tenements of our cities, in our churches and our amusement places—by whom we are surrounded night and day in our ordinary life—are met with in the courts. Some are more sheltered than others and may avoid pitfalls, but we can never be sure that those nearest to us may not eventually drift into dark places. If these children fail to make good, if they stumble and fall, if they lose their ideals and their purity: who is to blame?

The courts may answer this question if they are conducted in the proper manner, and if their work is carefully studied by parents and school authorities no less than by social workers. The answer will be in the nature of a human evaluation of life conditions. After all, we are concerned with human souls. Even the adult offender, including the "jailbird," is but a child grown up. What was it that threw a shadow over his path when he was still a helpless babe? What was it that influenced his social reactions so that they became inimical to the peace of the commonwealth?

These meditations are not only introductory to some remarks upon the procedure followed in the *Municipal Court of Philadelphia,* but are intended to establish a rational foundation upon which we may base judgment in regard to the efficiency of court organization. It has been my privilege to study court conditions in many cities and to sit with judges charged with responsibility for the disposal of juvenile cases from one end of the land to the other. It has been my good fortune to examine the methods of the Philadelphia Municipal Court with some detail, not only studying the reports and printed material, blanks, etc., with great care, but sitting in open court with the judges, or with the probation officers in pre-court investigations, with the interviewers in their confidential talks with complainants and accused; visiting the detention homes connected with the court; reading records of cases with all their minute information and case studies; conferring with individual workers, and groups of workers, upon particular phases of the work; studying the medical, pathological, psychological and psychiatric features of the investigation, etc.

The *organization of the Philadelphia Municipal Court,* as developed under President Judge Charles L. Brown, is unique in this country. While there are other cities in which certain features present in Philadelphia can also be found, there is no parallel anywhere else to the complete articulation of the procedure as conducted in Philadelphia. The Court is really an object lesson and an inspiration, blazing the trail for an entirely new conception of "criminal" procedure. Not that it is perfect, as yet; in many a detail improvements may be suggested, and it does not yet accomplish even all of those things which its present organization would suggest to be possible. But it is a growing thing. So much has been accomplished in the few years of its existence

as an organism (it was established but six or seven years ago!) that one can only wonder at the organizing genius of those who built the great work. So much is new and had never been tried before, requiring the services of many who had to be trained for the new work, that it is astounding that its working is as perfect as it is.

The *three outstanding features* of the organization are these:

First: It represents a co-ordinated system.

It embraces in ONE ORGANIZATION all those elements which determine the *life of the child.* The children's division comprises the cases of *dependency,* of *juvenile delinquency* and *disorderliness,* also *truancy* and *runaways.* This division is complemented by a *Misdemeanants'* Division, which is for older children up to twenty-one, and also for all other cases usually considered in so-called morals courts. Here the exploiters of juvenile crime and immorality are brought in. Finally, there is a *Domestic Relations* Division which dovetails in many cases with the juvenile problems. A *Criminal Division* deals with other related conditions.

Thus, the judges are enabled to connect the various influences which affect a child in one total view, and to follow up a case through various successive phases.

A well-organized *Medical and Psychological Department* with laboratory and hospital facilities co-operates with the social workers and probation officers to complete what we may call the *clinical picture* of each case.

Co-ordination with private social and welfare agencies is considered a matter of course. A splendid *registration system* facilitates this.

Of the *Employment Division* and the *Educational*

Department mention will be made later. Both are of the utmost importance, and indeed special features.

Second: The judges (under the presidency of Hon. Charles L. Brown, the originator of the plan) *are in a measure the administrative and executive officers of the Court.*

Theirs, of course, is the final disposal of the cases. They represent the Majesty of the Law. But a relatively small fraction only of all cases come up in open court. A majority is settled before they ever reach court. If court action is necessary it is often accomplished without haling the parties before the court as such. Either, they appear before the judge in his private chambers, or he sanctions the recommendations of the probation department by his signature and order. This relieves many an unfortunate situation and saves deserving individuals from public disgrace.

It is the work of this splendidly organized *Probation Department* which is the outstanding feature of this court organization. In a measure, it assumes the functions of the old system of justices of the peace. These functions are primarily conciliatory, preventive. The aim is to readjust, to straighten out, to reconstruct—to establish conditions which will bring relief to an ill-adjusted child, to estranged couples, to warped lives.

Every complaint* is first brought before the Probation Department. The probation officers and interviewers endeavor to understand each case in all its ramifications and to untangle the twisted relations. Every child whose case is reported (for that matter, every street-walker or prostitute in the Misdemeanants' Division) is carefully examined by a physician and eventually by a psychologist or psy-

*With the exception of arrests in the *Criminal Division* of the Court, where the investigations are not made until after the prisoner has been convicted of a crime before a jury and is placed on probation or ordered to make reparation or restitution, as these are court cases by law.

chiatrist; home conditions are thoroughly investigated. Every complainant is given opportunity for heart-to-heart talks in perfect privacy with a sympathetic interviewer; the accused party, as in strained domestic relations, is given a like opportunity. Every effort is made to go to the root of the matter, and in a great majority of cases a re-establishment of normality is effected. If a case must go before the judge, it is so well prepared that his decision can be based upon an array of information which enables him to arrive at sound conclusions.

Even the figures which the Reports of the Municipal Court offer by way of statistics (there is a very efficient *Statistical Bureau* connected with the organization) cannot give a full and clear picture of the enormous social service which this procedure has rendered to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. How many children have been saved for constructive lives—how many disrupted homes have been built up again—how many divorces have been prevented—how much lost or hazarded happiness has been re-established—who can tell the fulness thereof in cold figures? On the marital chessboard the children are too often the pawns, readily sacrificed by the "king" and "queen" for their own protection or comfort. After all, the child point of view is determinative in the solution of all our social problems.

Even the cases of adult delinquency, of prostitution and crime, have their roots in the conditions under which the child grows up, as we have seen. As a matter of fact, the Municipal Court of Philadelphia maintains this attitude right through all its dealings with cases that come under its jurisdiction.

It may be added that the reconstructive efforts of the probation officers of the Misdemeanants' Division are not confined to their own cases. They include investigations of cases of men and boys who have been committed to the House of Correction by magistrates. It is shown that many cases of ill-advised commitments could be relieved; magistrates do not have the information which only a well-organized

system like that of the Municipal Court could have furnished. Paroles are obtained, and instead of being turned adrift on their own resources, the men and boys so released are placed under supervision, positions are secured for them, homes and lodgings are found, and other needful help is extended. The Department of Correction of New York City is beginning to make similar efforts in the reclamation of discharged prisoners.

This could not be accomplished without a well-organized *Employment Bureau.* This Bureau is one of the most remarkable parts of the organization.

It seeks to furnish work opportunities to idle boys and girls; to wayward youngsters who are in danger of degeneration; to deserting husbands who had found the burden of a family too troublesome; to deserted mothers who must be helped to help themselves—in short, to all for whom work is the salvation of a wrecked life. The value of this constructive element in the disposal of the court and probation cases cannot be overestimated.

Third: The entire machinery of the court procedure is a living organism rather than a mechanical device.

It breathes with life. It is not a court so much as a reconstruction agency. It takes altogether the human point of view. It endeavors to rehabilitate ruined or endangered lives. It cannot deal with hardened criminals or degenerates; it lays most stress on the beginnings of a criminal career and the checking of demoralizing influences. The good of the child is its principal object; the preservation of the family and of the home is its center of activity. In this tendency, which is so clearly pronounced in every smallest detail of procedure, and in every word and act of the judges and court officers, lies the secret of its power in the community.

To give evidence of the spirit which governs this wonderful work it may be well to quote a few statements from Judge Brown's own utterances, and from the published reports. It has been my great pleas-

ure to have had occasion to verify these statements by my own observations.

"Every boy," says Judge Brown, in one of his public addresses, "has to get rid of (the) surplus energy that is in him, and it is our duty to guide him and help him until he gets hold of himself, as you and I were guided and helped until we got hold of ourselves and followed the path that we felt we were best fitted for. I have had very few boys before me that did much worse than boys did when I was a boy, and my mind harks back to the period when I was of their ages, and I feel a common spirit with them . . ."

From a report: "In delinquent cases (speaking of the Juvenile Division) the investigation furnishes the facts on which it can better determine whether the child is criminally inclined or simply unfortunate, whether he is normal or defective . . . There is a very definite separation of the delinquent from the dependent or neglected child cases . . . The parent may be brought in on a formal charge of neglect or ill-treatment . . . *The fundamental purpose of Juvenile Court procedure is not to determine whether the child has committed a specific offense for which punishment must be inflicted, but to discover whether he is a subject for special protection, care, and guardianship by the community.* . . . Since the juvenile offender is not considered a criminal, but a child in need of protection, it is essential that legal evidence be accompanied by social evidence . . ."

The delinquency of parents, rather than the child's, is fully recognized in this procedure.

That inadequate homes, ignorance of parents, the unfitness of parents to educate their children—in short, the *lack of training for parenthood,* which is not at all confined to the poorer classes—are at the bottom of much delinquency in childhood and later life, is so evident that it does not require discussion or elucidation here. Says Judge Brown, in another place: "One of our big tasks is to teach that to the

parents. When a little ten-year-old girl was told the story of George Washington, she said, 'It is easy to tell the truth when one has such a kind father.' "

The problem of delinquent children, and of anti-social conduct in general, is also one of *mental trouble,* or mental condition. This does not imply, as some have thought, that a great number of cases represent mental defect in the sense of feeble-mindedness, but there is often mere retardation on account of slowness of grasp, primitiveness of intellect without fundamental defect, psychopathic conditions of various orders, or perhaps only because of unrelieved physical defects or illness.

In fact, it has been abundantly shown that defects in the special senses, injuries of different kinds, chronic disease, and many kinds of physical afflictions play a sinister rôle in producing irritations and temperamental disturbances leading to misdemeanor of some kind. One of the first functions of relief is therefore the recognition and eventual relief of these causes.

The chief characteristic of the girls in the Misdemeanants' Division, says Judge Brown, is not feeble-mindedness, but lack of emotional balance. The same fact is brought out in a recent article by Dr. Carl Scheffel, in the Medico-Legal Journal (New York), who says: "I refer to cases with a normal degree of general intelligence, but those in which such mental complexities as emotional conflicts, abnormal habit-formations and special mental defects play the all-important rôles that cause their anti-social behavior . . . Most of them (the juvenile offenders) are as much medical cases as they are legal problems."

Many of these children are more suggestible than others, and follow bad examples easily; here it is a matter of will-defect which can often be overcome by proper influences. These volitional defects are

sometimes in the nature of a distinct psychopathic condition.

It is, then, at once evident what an important part the *Medical Department* plays in the work of this (and any other) court. Its organization in Philadelphia is quite complete, and its work is in competent hands. The neuro-psychiatric work is departmentalized under the direction of a psychiatrist; there is a medical advisory board composed of prominent physicians. There is a medical director. A well-equipped pathological laboratory and several hospitals are at the disposal of the court. These are, of course, very important features in the handling of many of the misdemeanant cases, as with unmarried mothers, prostitutes, etc. I shall speak of this work again in another paragraph.

The mental examinations include careful and variegated psychological tests. These are handled in a less mechanical manner than is customary with too many of the modern clinical psychologists and offer much helpful material.

Dr. S. D. W. Ludlum, a member of the Medical Board and a well-known psychiatrist of Philadelphia, made a study of 440 young "incorrigible" girls who were under the care of the court—not prostitutes, although they may have had some sex experience. From Dr. Ludlum's report, the following paragraphs may be quoted to show the nature of the work and some of the conclusions:

> "The incorrigible, first of all, is an individual whose instincts are unequally developed. In her, all aggressive impulses—self-assertion, pugnacity, curiosity—are strong. All restraining impulses—repulsion, fear, tender emotion—are weak. As self-assertion, which makes for 'non-conformity,' is high, repulsion, which would most certainly thwart self-assertion, is

low. And the incorrigible shows lack of repulsion, not only to law-breaking, but even to filth and poor housing conditions.

"The kind of incorrigible is determined by the particular instincts in power. Here, self-estimation is used as a basis of classification. According to self-estimation, or the 'Am I as good as, better than, or worse than the people with whom I live?' incorrigibles fall into three groups—superiors, equals and inferiors. While all are unbalanced in development of instinct, the superiors and inferiors stand out prominently. The former have the most pugnacity and self-assertion, whereas the latter, the inferiors, have too little self-assertion and pugnacity to carry out their real impulses. Consequently, these are very weak and easily led into wrong-doing by stronger companions."

These deductions show what valuable research work can be done in connection with the handling of these delinquents. Of this I will speak later again. Judge Brown comments on these findings as follows:

"It is apparent that the incorrigible girl needs a leveling or balancing process. The girls who think themselves superior, and have strong instincts, may need custodial care; the weak girls need strengthening and encouragement . . . It seems from our experience in the different divisions of the court that the workers and the judge, the probation officers and the physicians should be guided in their work by a consideration of the emotional and nervous aspects of the life of the client, even perhaps more than of the client's intellectual capacity. Another thing that seems to stand out is *the small percentage of cases where institutional incarceration because of the mental condition is necessary.*"

This is a very significant statement. And it is also significant for the attitude of this remarkable court that the judge speaks of his cases as "clients"!

To give another illustration of the saving policy of the court in the matter of juveniles I will quote from the report of an orphan boy of twelve years and nine months who came before the court as a truant case. The physical examination revealed no defect. At the House of Detention, the following school report (public school, 3-B Grade) was received: "Very poor, slow work in grade claimed in arithmetic. Above grade in reading—5th to 6th grade. Retardation due to frequent change of school base. Runaway was caused by dislike of institution life. Expressed great fondness for farm life, for horses and other animals. Keen sense of humor; a mischievous lad, but not bad at heart."

The psychologist reports: "Good mental ability. Fairly alert and prompt in his reactions—only occasionally does an apathetic, indifferent attitude assert itself. One feels, however, that he never exerts himself greatly. Believe that he is entirely capable of thoughtful, controlled action. Is now heedless, childish and irresponsible, needing guiding and directing influences. Habits of untruthfulness and slyness are fast being acquired. Recommend private placement; regular school attendance." And the psychiatrist adds: "This boy has fair mental ability, but needs physical building up and mental stimulation. He is capable of improvement and is a problem for mental and manual training. Recommend farm placement."

Let us remember this boy is deprived of the benefits of a home of his own, being an orphan and without helping relatives. The problem in his case, and in thousands of other cases, is how to find proper placement. There is as yet little or no organized provision for these cases anywhere. Indeed, this is one of the greatest difficulties we are facing in deal-

ing with relief on a large scale: we may know what SHOULD be done to redeem a child outside of his own home when that becomes necessary, but we are constantly handicapped by lack of institutions or private provisions to meet the emergencies. If it is a matter of parental wisdom to educate a child under ordinary circumstances, how much more of an educational expert must be he who takes a wayward or otherwise handicapped child under his roof!

Nevertheless, the efforts of the Philadelphia Municipal Court in this direction have been crowned with success in many cases, showing how conscientious and untiring the workers are. I have before me the very lengthy record of a boy whose career through several years has been quite checkered. Starting as a delinquent, a petty thief, although the son of respectable parents, this boy, under the guardianship of the court, passed through a number of different experiences, not seldom of a discouraging kind, but finally emerged to become himself a respectable, hard-working, intelligent, successful and thoroughly reliable young citizen. This reminds me of the remark of the chief probation officer of one of the larger cities of the East who claimed that quite a number of the successful young business men of his city had been at one time on his list of delinquent or "incorrigible" boys; to hold these records up against them, he said, would be rank injustice.

The general procedure in cases of children is that the accused boy or girl is first taken to the Detention House for Children, where he or she is given a routine medical examination and where the case is first examined by two probation officers in charge. This starts the entire machinery of the Probation Department. Similarly, all other cases coming under the jurisdiction of the Municipal Court, with the exception of those which have to be brought directly into the court under the law, are started in other branches of the department, which acts as a clearing

house before the disposition of cases, and as a supervisory and guiding agency after actual probation, so-called, has been instituted.

The work could not be done without the *co-ordinated activity of other municipal and private organizations.* The Departments of Public Welfare and of Health are officially represented at the Court, for the purpose of co-operation. Likewise, several of the private welfare societies, and of sheltering homes, conducted by the different denominations, have their regular and accredited representatives. As stated before, these provisions are by no means adequate or plentiful; there is great need of municipal and state institutions, hospital schools, children's sanatoria, farm schools (so organized that no stigma be attached to the child referred to them), and numerous other provisions, including placement in private families, which would meet the needs of the different types of unfortunate children. What is now offered is offered in good faith and under as favorable conditions as can be expected. But we must realize that provisions of this kind are not "charity"; they represent a public duty to handicapped members of society, to actual or prospective citizens, whose handicap is rarely, if ever, altogether of their own making, but due to hereditary causes, or to the social conditions into which they were born.

It is true, however, that private initiative, through the far-sighted generosity of public-minded citizens, will have to be relied upon for some time to come to demonstrate what should be done by the Commonwealth. As Judge Brown himself puts it: "Private agencies have this great function of propaganda and development of new fields which public agencies seem to be precluded from exercising, because as part of government it is always difficult and seldom proper for them to engage in propaganda or missionary work. Private social agencies . . . have greater opportunity for experimental

work, although this is not and should not be denied to the public social agencies, as evidenced in the work of the Child Welfare Research Station, established by the State of Iowa in connection with the State University."

Indeed, such research work, as I shall set forth later on, should not be denied so marvelous an opportunity for efficient development as this very court offers. On the other hand, Judge Brown demonstrates quite cogently the need of such efforts as are represented by the National Association for the Study and Education of Exceptional Children, under the auspices of which this study has been made. The desire of this Association is distinctly in the direction of co-operation with public agencies such as the Philadelphia Municipal Court.

One of the departments of the Court which has not been mentioned specifically is the work for "illegitimate children," or *unmarried mothers*. This is a division of the Women's Criminal Division. Very sympathetic and thorough-going work is done in this department. The entire Division is devoted to the cases of women arrested for petty crimes, theft, shoplifting, etc. The reason why the cases of unmarried mothers are heard in this Division is because the charge is a criminal one against the man, namely, a charge of fornication and bastardy.

The procedure is as follows: A complaint is made by the girl, or nearest relative, and a warrant is issued for the man. After he is brought in, there is a preliminary hearing. If the child is already born and he pleads guilty, he signs a waiver and an order can be made immediately by the Court. If the child is not born and he pleads guilty, he is again summoned before the Court shortly after the child is born and an order is made. If he pleads not guilty, it is necessary for the girl to go before the Grand Jury and later the case is tried before a jury. Of course, it is regrettable that the State of Pennsylvania still

makes the hearing before the Grand Jury necessary, and it is to be hoped that these proceedings will be changed into purely civil proceedings. But the Municipal Court of Philadelphia has mitigated the procedure as much as possible by introducing the unique feature that when the man admits paternity, there is no Grand Jury hearing, and the mother does not have to tell her story to any one except the women probation officers. The very fact that publicity is excluded under such circumstances, and that the persuading influence of the probation officers is allowed full opportunity in private interviews, has given many a man his chance of making good; many a girl's honor has been saved; many a child, born out of wedlock, has been legitimatized, and many a happy family life has been established which would otherwise have been impossible.

There is another helpful feature, quite unique with the Philadelphia Court: while the man is in no way responsible for the support of the unmarried mother at any time, either before or after the birth of his child, except for her lying-in expenses (which, of course, is a great injustice), he is responsible for the support of his child until this child is 16 years old, or of working age. This condition makes many a man much more ready to assume his responsibilities in the regular way, and to have also the happiness of fatherhood together with its duties.

The Court Medical Department gives prenatal care when that is needed, and eventually makes arrangements for the girl's confinement. If the social conditions are such that she cannot stay at home, she is placed in some maternity home. This care is divided among State and private funds.

There are handicaps to this procedure, owing to unfortunate laws. In Pennsylvania, the charge made against the man is not an extraditable one, and if the man leaves the State he cannot be brought back unless he is willing to assume his responsibility and to come upon request. There is no interstate agency

by which these cases can be checked up. If the child is born in Philadelphia County, the case cannot even be opened in any other county of the State, or in any other State; it is entirely a county problem.

I have dwelt upon the details of this procedure because so much will yet have to be done to develop the handling of these cases in a truly human and humane manner, by developing the statutes governing the procedure—and because the case of the child born out of wedlock, and kept out of a real home, where father and mother can combine in its loving care, stigmatized as it is by reprehensible laws and customs, is a particularly sad one, leading often to serious handicaps.

The child of the broken home is similarly exposed to handicaps and misfortune. That is the reason why the *Domestic Relations Division* of the Court, of which I have spoken before, is so carefully organized. All cases involving non-support of wife by husband, or desertion by either, and those cases involving non-support of aged parents by children and grandchildren, or non-support of children by parents, are referred to this division.

The handling of these cases is just as discreet and confidential, as long as possible, as those in the previously discussed division. In all instances it is the aim to hold the family together, for the parents' sake no more than for the sake of the children whose lives are hazarded. Even when a reconciliation cannot be effected, protection is given, at least financially, by holding those who are responsible for the break strictly to the fulfilment of their duties. This manner of managing cases is rather unique with this Court. Since it has been in existence, the *Delinquent Accounts Bureau* of the Court has collected over $6,000,000 for the support of wives, mothers, and children. The money collected is paid directly by the erring husband or father to the Department of Accounts, and within 24 hours it

is sent to the wife or mother if it is paid in cash; if it is paid by check, 5 banking days are allowed to elapse to make sure funds are in the bank to meet it. There are no comparative studies of collections in other cities; the latest study was made by Mr. Reginald Heber Smith, who wrote the Carnegie Foundation Report, "Justice and the Poor." He gives figures for 1915. At that time the Philadelphia collections were far in advance of any other court. The majesty of the law is invoked when necessary, and the field workers of the probation department are ever on the trail of the delinquent. If he should be committed to the House of Correction, which happens in particularly flagrant cases of non-payment, he is put to hard labor, and payment is made to his family in return for his labor.

This procedure does not only save the public funds from the drain which indigent families would otherwise entail, but is naturally a powerful persuader to the deserter to consider his obligations. Often enough he finds it more profitable and, finally, more satisfactory in all ways, to re-establish his family on a normal basis.

In the year 1920 alone, 6984 couples came to the Court with their quarrels and troubles, "ranging all the way from the long-carried bitterness of middle age to the slight, but potentially tragic misunderstandings of young people who needed only a peacemaker to bring them together again."* The Philadelphia Court has a whole staff of peacemakers whose task is a most delicate one. But it is notable that they have succeeded not only in the adjustment of troubles of the socially lowly, but even in cases in which prominent and wealthy people were involved.

It may be well to be a little more explicit about the Court's procedure in the *Misdemeanants' Division,* as many puzzling problems are handled here.

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*Leon and Elizabeth Stern, DOMESTIC RELATIONS AT PAR, "Good Housekeeping," January, 1921.

It has a twofold jurisdiction: first, in the cases of all "disorderly" children between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, that is of those who have outgrown the Juvenile Division; and second, in the cases of all persons arrested for disorderly street-walking. For facility of administration and also because certain fundamental distinctions must be made between the handling of the two sexes, the Misdemeanants' Division is subdivided into the Boys' and Men's Department on the one hand, and the Girls' and Women's Department on the other.

The cases of mere disorderly conduct, such as would otherwise be handled by the Juvenile Division, as in the case of younger "offenders," are disposed of very much in the manner described before.

In every case women and girls accused of *street-walking* or *prostitution* are brought in as arrest cases —either alone or with the man whom they were found soliciting. They are not taken to a station house, nor are they placed in cell-rooms. There is a Detention Home provided for them. A girl is at once taken to the medical dormitory on the second floor of the building. Here she is interviewed by a probation officer; her social history is entered on a standard face sheet and record forms. This provides the initial material for further investigation if needed.

The next step is an interview with the house physician in charge of diagnosis, who secures all available personal and family medical data. The stenographer who takes the notes sits behind a screen so that the girl feels she is alone with the examiner. A general physical examination is made, after which the girl passes into an adjoining room to be examined by the skin (venereal) specialist, who examines for glandular and other signs of a specific condition. Further examinations follow, introducing special tests. Then the gynecologist makes an examination, and a gonorrhea smear is taken. All data are organized in a complete medical report.

The next step is an examination by a psychiatrist,

which will reveal neurological conditions, and those habit complexes which must be known in diagnosing her conduct. Psychometric tests complete this examination. The girl's finger-prints are also taken.

Not until a complete picture, social, mental, physical, has been constructed—as far as that may be possible under the circumstances—is the girl taken to court. All these data must, of course, be obtained either the day before or on the morning of the trial. It is astounding to read the minute statements prepared for the judge by the workers and examiners. The man arrested with the girl is brought before the bar at the same time.

The *decision,* be it commitment to the House of Correction, with medical treatment when necessary; or medical treatment for the non-ambulant cases, with probation following cure and release; or probation only with medical oversight (or, of course, discharge when found not guilty)—is always directed towards the one end: saving the girls, if at all possible, for an independent, useful life. They are not treated as if they were inherently bad, but as erring mortals, whose self-respect has to be reconstructed—often enough the victims of conditions for which they were not responsible, more sinned against than sinning, the result of a system of education which ignores the most important teachings, those on sex and procreation.

Girls over sixteen who are brought into Court for so-called *incorrigibility and waywardness*—either on complaint by their parents, or as runaways from other cities, are housed on the third floor of the same building. Only the most necessary parts of the procedure sketched in the preceding paragraphs are employed, and they are treated with much discretion. Again the aim is, of course, saving, safeguarding, and reconstruction. If it is found they have had sex experience, with the possibility of infection, an examination is made and proper direction given.

Some very good work is done in the *Men's Criminal Division* of the Court. The department is very successful in the collection of *restitution money.* If a man has embezzled or stolen money, or other valuables, the department collects the amount in small weekly instalments. This does not only reimburse the victim of the theft, but gives the offender a sense of responsibility such as will prevent him from further transgressions. The families of prisoners are also helped.

The *Men's Misdemeanants' Division* has two workers who have special functions in certain prison cases. One man visits the House of Correction regularly to look up boys sent there as runaways or for similar trifling offenses. They are taken out, work is found for them if they are from Philadelphia, or they are returned to their parents if they came from out of town. Many of these boys are from other states. Another man visits the County Prison, where the untried prisoners are kept, and does whatever he can with them in order to relieve their distress or the distress of their families. In all these instances, the Municipal Court acts as a mediator, for the purpose of reconstruction.

As the first unique feature of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia I mentioned this, that it represents a co-ordinated system, embracing in one organization all the elements which determine the life of a child. The child point of view is, of course, the principal one in this study.

This co-ordination would be difficult were it not for the splendidly organized *Registration Bureau* of the Court. It is quite necessary to describe its workings in detail so as to make the whole system intelligible. It typifies the striving of the organizers for development and improvement, as it is a relatively new creation, grown out of actual necessity.

It was established in 1920 to assist in promoting

efficient co-operation between the six social service divisions of the Court. It maintains a *central index* in which are listed all cases, old or new. A very simple method is followed with a minimum of clerical detail. As each division takes up a new case, a card is sent to the Registration Bureau giving the names and ages of parents and children and their addresses, together with names of near relatives, and the case number which was assigned by the division. This card is filed in the central index; if another card is found for the same case, the two are combined, and the divisions are notified.

When any division begins work with a family some member of which has already come to the attention of another division, the Registration Bureau notifies the probation officer who is working on the case of the other record, and he is thus enabled to secure such information as is in the files of the other division. Information which would otherwise be secured only after a new investigation is thus made immediately available, and plans for the welfare of the family concerned will be co-ordinated from the start.

If members of a family have labored under social handicaps in the past, advice and consultation among those who have been and are dealing with their cases will greatly aid the understanding of the fundamental difficulties, and assist in a constructive solution of domestic misfortune. In cases of juvenile delinquency, the parents' record in the Domestic Relations Division often reveals family conditions which throw light upon the action of the child.

A record of the Juvenile Division, extending perhaps over a period of years, contains family history of great value to the probation officer seeking an adjustment of the troubles of the parents. The Juvenile probation officer must necessarily become familiar with the family life of the parents whenever the child receives attention for a longer period. Thus he is able to assist the Domestic Relations probation officer in understanding any unfortunate cir-

cumstances which may have existed in the home and which may retard the reconciliation of the parents.

The object of these entries is not to seek information which may be used *against* members of the same family, but to arrive as speedily as possible at that understanding of their needs which must precede any intelligent effort to re-establish the family as a social unit, so that it may be an asset instead of a liability. Special emphasis must be laid upon the fact that no person is given access to this file except those employed to operate it, and notification is made only to those already working on the case. It is therefore impossible for any one desiring to "look up the record" of a person on whose case he or she has not been assigned to work, to obtain information regarding his or her past history. This rule applies equally to employees of the Court as to outsiders.

During a three months' period in 1921, it was found that 10% of the cases coming from the Domestic Relations Division had been previously known to the Juvenile Division, and another 12% of the cases arising in the Juvenile Division were those in which parents had previously figured in the Domestic Relations Division. During the same period 41% of the cases taken up by the Boys' Misdemeanants' Division were found to have had prior Juvenile records. While the procedure in the Boys' Misdemeanants' Division is not the same as in the Juvenile, as the older boy is approaching maturity and thus presents problems different from those of the child, the Division was enabled to know from the previous record what tendencies and conditions had existed to be combated in its efforts to forestall the development of criminal habits.

In the Women's Criminal Division, in 23% of the cases either the man or the woman had been brought up in either the Domestic Relations, the Juvenile, or the Girls' Misdemeanants' Division, the proportion being practically the same in each.

This illustrates the opportunity which has been

developed by the Registration Bureau for co-ordination of the probation work of the Court, rendering it increasingly effective.

Of course, a system or plan without the personality of those who use it is an empty form. It has remained for the probation officers themselves to apply the knowledge thus gained with intelligence and discretion, always bearing in mind that constructive help, not repression, is the true function of those who would aid the socially unfortunate and handicapped.

As an adjunct to its service in notifying the probation officers of the existence of any records in other divisions of the Court, the Bureau began, in October, 1920, to make inquiry at the *Social Service Exchange* of Philadelphia regarding the new cases arising in the Domestic Relations Division. The Social Service Exchange is a clearing house for charitable agencies, upwards of 150 of which register their cases with it and secure in return reports informing them whether others are helping the same family. The purpose is interchange of information and prevention of duplication.

The Social Service Exchange reports by telephone to the Municipal Court Registration Bureau on those cases which are known to the charitable agencies in the city. The report consists in giving the names and case numbers of the agencies which know the family. This enables the Court to keep in close touch with the outside organizations which may be interested in one of its families, and to secure their co-operation in plans for relief, enlisting their aid where assistance is required. Additional insight into the needs of the individual is thus secured, and the Court is also assured that the private charities will take note of the Court action in their efforts to assist. Thirty-five per cent. of the inquiries made during the last eight months of 1921 resulted in information being secured by the Court regarding the activities of private agencies.

Lastly, and with special emphasis, must be mentioned the most unique department of the Court organization, the *Educational Department.* It grew out of the need of training for the workers of the Court, but has assumed wider and more far-reaching functions.

One of the great problems of an organization like the Philadelphia Municipal Court is the finding of well-trained workers. The general impression an observer receives is a most favorable one. Many of the workers are intelligent, devoted and enthusiastic, some are really highly educated persons. Their sympathy with the unfortunates they have to deal with is encouraging and often touching. Some of the leaders of the work are exceptional men and women. The rank and file need training, of course, especially in so highly organized a system as this is. The problem of training probation officers before they enter service is still unsolved.

The Educational Department is especially devoted to the professional training of the Court workers. For some of them, scholarships have been obtained in the Pennsylvania School for Social Service. Lectures by leaders in the field of social service were a regular feature of the training of workers. A Social Service Directory for Philadelphia was compiled. The beginning of a well-articulated Sociological Library has been made, lists of books, etc., being prepared to meet the needs of the different divisions of the Court according to the character of the work conducted in them.

One of the most promising activities of this department is the organization of developmental research. First attention was paid to detailed studies of the administrative machinery of the Court, also of salaries and expenditures. But another function was added soon. Charts and graphs were prepared to illustrate the workings of the Court as a social agency, on illegitimacy, and general court procedure. A "Baby" chart, covering cases from 1914 to 1919 shows that for every 7 illegitimate babies whose

mothers applied to the Court for help, there were 18 whom the Court never had a chance to help.

A Probation Manual is in course of completion, with a digest of laws referring to the system and other necessary information.

Very important is the exchange of information inaugurated by this department, to respond to the many inquiries from other cities and States as to the working of the Philadelphia Municipal Court. A complete analysis was made of all the case work in the Domestic Relations, Women's and Boys' Misdemeanants', and Juvenile Divisions (both delinquent and dependent). It was found that each case requires from 30 to 42 steps in the process of adjustment. This analysis emphasizes in a significant manner, says the Director, the difference between the old method of court procedure—where there was usually but one step, the court hearing—and the modern enlightened social case treatment used in the Municipal Court of Philadelphia and other social courts in the country. These steps have been pictured in diagrammatic and photographic form, including stereopticon slides, some of which have been used in university courses and by the U. S. Public Health Service and in many other ways. Descriptive talks accompany the illustrations.

But the Educational Department has a much wider function, it would seem. It is not only the radiating center of information to the court workers, and to the great world of social effort outside—but it can and should be, in co-operation with the Medical and Psychological Departments, the center of research work in a larger sense. In fact, the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, and every other court modeled somewhat on the same principles, offers the grandest opportunities for *research work in the province of social problems.* It is in itself a great *laboratory for the study of exceptional children,* as I understand the term, of all kinds. One can only wish that in its further development this research feature may be stressed to its fullest extent.

Of course, this may mean further and larger appropriations on the part of tax-payers. It may not be easy to convince them that such expenditures are the best social investments they can make. That the probation service of the Juvenile Division alone more than pays for its maintenance is proven by the figures presented in the Court Reports. But that is only one side of the problem.

Hon. Edwin Denby, Secretary of the Navy, in an address recently delivered at the Presbyterian Church of the Covenant in Washington, related some of his own experiences as probation officer in Detroit. He said: "The most laggard institution in this country is the penal institution. Its one redeeming feature is the probation system. Some day we are going to discover that it is far cheaper and better to place a first offender on probation and help him afterward than it is to support him in prison. Prisons are costly places. Better spend the money on men who can be redeemed by placing them on probation and aiding them financially afterward than allowing them to stay in a cell and get worse."

And I may add: Some day we are going to discover that studying the entire problem of human failure and criminality on a scientific research basis, even if we have to spend millions on this study, is far cheaper than going on perpetuating medieval and even primitive notions about punishment and prisons. If we are to have a body social commensurate to modern civilization in its full conception we must develop it adequately. We cannot have civilized society in an uncivilized organization, just as we cannot have the human soul housed in the body of a plant or a crocodile. It is all a matter of evolution, of higher organization, of mutual adaptation of body and soul. The social body must fit the social soul, and vice versa.

The opportunities for making a court organization like the Municipal Court of Philadelphia a great research laboratory for social reorganization are vast. May they not be lost or dissipated!

The watchword of the work of this great Court was sounded by Judge Charles L. Brown himself, when he said:

"THE CULTURAL VALUE OF JUSTICE LIES IN THE HUMAN TOUCH."

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SOME OF THE WELFARE PROBLEMS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY

DR. JOHN M. BALDY

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF PHILADELPHIA

SOME OF THE WELFARE PROBLEMS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNA

Address by Dr. John M. Baldy, State Commissioner of Public Welfare, under the auspices of the Educational Department of the Municipal Court, Friday, February 17, 1922

Judge Brown: Ladies and Gentlemen:—This is another of our series of lectures. You have before you to-day, to instruct you in the work of the court and the work of the social agencies in the city of Philadelphia, a distinguished physician who has given his life to the service of the people. He has had charge of the hospitals of Pennsylvania, and now he is the head of the Welfare Department of the State of Pennsylvania. I don't know any set of men or women who are greater social workers than are the doctors of our communities. They look after the people for to-day and they have a vision of life hundreds of years from now. There isn't any person who has given to me so much assistance in the great work of the Municipal Court as the gentleman whom I will introduce to you in a moment. He recognizes the importance of the work we are trying to do, and he turned over to the uses of this court the Gynecean Hospital, where we could take care of people in distress in order that life may be preserved to the future in all its greatness and its glory.

It gives me great pleasure to present to you to-day Dr. Baldy, the Director of the Department of Public Welfare of the State of Pennsylvania.

ADDRESS

Doctor Baldy: Judge Brown and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Court:—It gives me great pleasure to be with you this afternoon and to discuss with you a few of the problems which face the State in its welfare work. When the Public Welfare Department was created, the thought in the minds of its creators was that no single individual knew all the problems of the Commonwealth. That means that individuals did not know all portions of these problems; the fact that we have so many associations is quite sufficient proof that individuals or groups of individuals realize the needs of a certain portion. But there has been no body, there has been no organization, that could visualize the matter as a whole, to co-ordinate the different portions or parts that bring order out of chaos, as it were.

The first thing, of course, in organizing a department of this type, was to find out where one was. I don't think any of us at the present department at Harrisburg knew much more about it, probably not nearly as much, as some of you present, and it behooved us, as a first step, to find out where we were at, what we had, wherein what we had lacked co-ordination, how nearly good was what we had, and how the different parts could be brought together to supplement each other. This we have been doing up to the present time, and in doing this many problems have come forward concretely and as a whole. Methods and means of bringing them together and making a compact working body have been gathering force more and more, and at the present time we are able to put our

fingers on a great many problems which concern this department and which will have to be solved in the next few years. I say a few years, because no one will be able to solve many or most of these problems in a short time. It means laborious work, it means slow work, and it means persistent work, work largely in the face of discouragement, because large portions of the community have not had the opportunity of being intimately associated with welfare work of various and different types. These persons have to be educated, and the first step in education is to show; and having shown a given community, half the battle is won.

In trying to solve the problems as a whole, we divided the responsibility into four different parts, in the creation of four bureaus, the first one of which is the bureau that deals largely with State Aid to hospitals. State aid to hospitals, it goes without saying, is a great welfare problem and work. In this division, because there was no other bureau which seemed a capable or proper place, the old people's homes have been placed. It may seem unrelated to State Aid to hospitals, and yet it is not unrelated, because most of these homes are aided, just as hospitals are, by State appropriation.

In going to these old people's homes, we not infrequently find chaos. We find management in the hands of good-natured, well meaning people, often with no business training whatever. Records, you might say, are non-existent. I am not speaking, in anything I have to say, about all institutions, from the beginning to the end. I am speaking of a considerable number in each and every group. I wish that understood. We find financial records practically non-existent. We find records, as far as the patients themselves are concerned, nil, in a sufficiently large group of these old people's homes to make it worth while calling to the attention of the managers; to rectify this if possible, would of course be a part of a standardization process that is to come.

The one outstanding fact that has come to my attention, as the surveys of the field representatives have come in, is the widespread lack of any competent knowledge of fire protection. In one institution of four floors, in a large civilized community in a central portion of this State, in which were thirty-six inmates, old women from seventy to ninety years of age, many of them practically helpless, we found three exits of the old step flight type, beautiful flues in case of fire; an old pair of hose of the garden type, worn out, hanging on the walls, which probably would burst on the first test when placed under pressure; a few of the ordinary fire apparatus units, charged with sulphuric acid and soda, to be turned upside down to make the combination, which had not been charged for four or five years, and the Lord knows whether they would work or whether they wouldn't. That is the idea of fire protection of people running that institution. No fire escape of any kind, in spite of the laws of the Commonwealth requiring any building containing as residents more than a certain number of people, to have a fire escape. In another building of a similar type, there was a cartload or two of sawdust within six inches or a foot of the furnace. In numbers of other institutions there were all sorts of trash, such as old pieces of wood, old paper, old, inflammable, dirty, greasy rags scattered promiscuously over the cellar and near, distressingly near, the furnace: to say nothing of soft coal banked against the furnace. Some day there will be a scandal. Here is one of the problems we have to solve, and it must be solved in Pennsylvania,—an intelligent conduct of these old people's homes.

A great deal of scandal has been raised in Pennsylvania in the case of State Aid to hospitals. One group contends that it is immoral for the State to appropriate and the other group contends that it certainly cannot be immoral for the State to appropriate for an institution which is caring for the unfortunate, poor, sick individual. At any rate it is

the State policy, and we have before us a problem of what to do in regard to this matter. We believe these charges are not charity. Any aid given by the State should be given in the direction of paying an honest debt. In other words the appropriation should be made on the basis of service rendered. Our idea is, in the first place, to standardize the hospitals, by establishing a minimum service as pertains to the matter of State aid. That, however, is a very easy proposition. Pennsylvania hospitals have been standardized for interne teaching in the last ten years, and there will be no trouble whatever with any of them meeting these minimum requirements. That having been established, the question comes in as to how much it costs that hospital to support and cure or relieve a State ward, and by the present method of bookkeeping, I would defy anybody, even though he were inspired, to be able to figure that out. I could never figure it out in my own hospitals, in my own hospital experience. The consequence is that it is the intention of the department to give every hospital the same method of bookkeeping, one evolved by the department, now in the hands of the State printer, and the hospitals are already beginning to get the first forms as regards the make-up and conduct of this system. It will be uniform, so that every institution will be accounting for the funds it is using on exactly the same basis. Every manager will know exactly where every penny has gone and how it has gone. The State will know where every penny has gone, and we will be very readily able to estimate by the quarterly reports coming to us at Harrisburg as to just how much it has cost to support a poor patient, just where the State money has been going, whether or not it is going in the direction that the State allows: certain features of maintenance being allowed and certain other features not being allowed. The actual appropriation of State monies, however, is no concern of the Department of Public Welfare. That is a

concern of the fiscal department, the Auditor General's and Treasurer's Department. They say that money appropriated for maintenance may go in one direction. The Welfare Department accepts that as the law and acts on that basis. The institutions will have a uniform system of bookkeeping, and the figuring up of how much it has cost them to support a patient a day, will in itself, without any recommendation from the Welfare Department, show what the State owes them. It is a matter for the Legislature to decide after we put the facts before them. Are we going to give them the full amount that they have expended, or are we going to take the accounts, as we do in the case of the insane, and pay half of it, or are we going to pay three-fourths of it? That is the affair of the Legislature, and they answer to the State of Pennsylvania, the citizens of Pennsylvania, for their action on that. One other function, however, rests with the Department of Welfare, and that is they see to it that no patient is charged as a State charge who is not a worthy case for that purpose, and that will be carefully taken care of.

When we come to the Department of Restoration, which has to do with the prisoners, we have other problems before us. In the first place we have the problem of placing all prisoners at labor, getting them out of mischief, making them content, giving them a trade, making them better able to meet the world when they come out to it again and with the chance of being better citizens. Prison labor has developed to a very considerable extent in this State, not as far as it might have gone, or not nearly as far as the Department means to push it. The Western Penitentiary inmates burned down every factory we had in the place, and not only burned up the machinery, but about forty or fifty thousand dollars' worth of material. The shops are being rapidly replaced with new, modern shops. We will have almost fifty per cent. more ground space than before. Where we had 50 looms, there will be 70

in the Western, and there have been added in the Eastern Penitentiary twenty-five. There is a broom and a brush factory in the Western, and at Huntingdon they manufacture all the automobile tags. In the Eastern Penitentiary they manufacture cloth, stockings and shoes, and there is in process of erection now a printing plant which I think will cost the State of Pennsylvania some thirty-five to forty thousand dollars. It is the problem of the Welfare Department to put every penitentiary prisoner able to work, at work. It will take some time to accomplish this. It means dollars and cents. We have in view a spinning plant at the western end of the State, which means another thirty or forty thousand dollars, all of which we have in sight, but when we have spent that we will have to wait for the will of another Legislature in order to be able to acquire more funds, unless we are able to earn through our activities sufficient to put in more factories. Under the law we can make that disposition of the fund we earn in prison labor. Formerly we were limited to putting thirty per cent. of the prisoners at labor. Now we can put them all at labor if we choose. They are paid within a certain range of prices. Their money they may retain or have it retained for them, at their option, until they leave the institution, or they may elect to have part of the fund go to their family and retain a small portion for themselves. All prisoners are encouraged to get as large a portion as possible to their dependent families outside in order that they shall not become cares to the State.

We find in some of these penal and reformatory institutions a certain number of delinquents, both boys and girls. At first we classified these all under the Bureau of Restoration, but in a careful study of the institutions and their activities, we find some of these problems are largely problems of children. I do not mean very young children, but still children of fifteen, eighteen, maybe twenty years of age. These are more children's problems than they are

problems of adults, so to take away the stigma of classifying these institutions with jails, with criminals, we place them in the Department of Children, under the care of a department which is officered entirely by women.

We find in some of these institutions, so called schools, in both the Eastern and Western parts of the State, a good deal of freedom of action, and we have been surprised in our surveys to find what a small number of these boys and girls run away and escape; but almost always they get back and are penalized. The institutions are being conducted largely on the honor system. The inmates themselves have honor cottages, and from one cottage they go to another cottage of a higher grade, with more privileges, until they come to one that governs itself, with its own governing body, and they have the flag or insignia of honor, which travels from one cottage to another as the cottage earns it. We find these people content, industrious, happy, and kept busy with academic studies or with actual work.

On the other hand, we find institutions of correction in which the inmates are restrained behind iron bars. They are disciplined as a criminal is disciplined. The mere appearance is so far and away different from that of the first group that I have spoken of, that it is rather a shock. If it can be done in one group, in one institution, can't it be done in another institution? Isn't it a reflection on the management if it isn't done? What boots it if a few girls or a few boys by escape do go back to the community; there are plenty more, only too many more, coming on to take their places, and the places are only too few. The probabilities are they have had their lesson at any rate and are better for it, but certainly, even granting that a few do escape and a few do go back to the community again in that manner, isn't it better that that should occur than that all these people should be brought up to feel that they are criminals? Many of them

have not gone far enough to have a real, criminal record. They may be just on the border line. But they are there. The names of the schools and the activities as laid out in their organization very distinctly mark them as educational institutions, and they ought not to be made prisons; the whole group can all, without exception, be made educational.

Going from this class of wards of the State, we come to two groups pretty hard to separate: the group under the Bureau of Mental Health and the group under the Bureau of Children. There are many children in the Department of Mental Health, that naturally come under its activities, probably just as many as there are in the Children's group. Take the situation among the mental defectives and insane in the State of Pennsylvania. We have State institutions for the insane. We have county institutions for the insane licensed by the State, for the purpose and with the avowed object of being able to take care of these individuals at lesser expense. Probably when this method was adopted it was a good one, because it was better than nothing. But the day has come when it is an abomination, and if I could take you with me into some of these institutions in the counties, it would not be necessary to attempt to convert you to that proposition. I do not mean to condemn all of the county insane asylums by any manner of means. Some of them are most excellent. Some of them are taken care of and supported most liberally, but they are, every one of them, too small for their purposes, and a large number of them are utterly, physically unfit for human beings to live in. The inmates of some of these are treated like beasts. What is the remedy? The system should be changed. In no place in the world is it disputed that the insane are State wards and belong to the care of the State, and why should the State shift the burden over to the county? What do you and I care whether our taxes go to the support of these people through the county or through the

State? What boots it to the taxpayer? He pays for it at any rate. If we could take these institutions and add them all to the State armamentarium, and utilize them for what they can be utilized for, many of them would make very useful institutions. For instance, the institution at Byberry and the institution at Woodville, in Allegheny County, would make beautiful psychopathic institutions in which those insane picked up on the streets, without a diagnosis, without any knowledge as to whether they have a chance to become sane again or not, could be taken, a skillful, modern, scientific diagnosis made, and those of them that had a potential possibility of getting well, could be treated scientifically then and there, and the balance sent on into other units. If you would go into some of these insane asylums and see the tubercular, the bedridden, the dying, and those beginning with the disease, you would see the absolute need of a tubercular unit. A tubercular unit would be the easiest thing in the world to establish, with a combination of the county and State institutions. Take the "Retreat" in Luzerne County: it would make a beautiful tubercular unit in which all the tubercular from other institutions could be transported, and all the insane asylums of the State relieved of that type of case. So with the epileptics and others.

This same principle can be carried out as far as the jails are concerned. Going back a moment to the Bureau of Restoration, we have the problem, within not many miles of Philadelphia, of a County jail which has one large room, not as large as this, but almost of the same shape, the men's cells opening off one side and the women's cells opening off the other, the women locked in all day and the men allowed out in the general cell room. There is no exercise provided for either the men or women. There are a few old, rusty, dirty shower baths in the basement for the men, absolutely no provision for bathing of the women whatever. The toilets in the women's cells are flushed with a bucket, if

the bucket happens to have any water in it when needed, and this is not within many miles of Philadelphia! Another instance: in one of the populous towns of the State, not very far from Harrisburg, there is a beautiful building, modeled after one in England, impressive as you approach it, with eighty-five men living in the cellar, sleeping and eating in a room half this size without a single article of furniture but a mattress, with a furnace in the centre and no other accommodations, and as the field representative expressed it, as we went through the room, it was "a filthy, dirty place."

These are a few of the conditions that exist in the jails of the State, and it is a problem that has got to be solved.

As I said, the insane are wards of the State, just as I contend the prisoner is a ward of the State. If I am condemned for stealing, I am not condemned for breaking the law of the County of Philadelphia: I am breaking the law of the Commonwealth, and if I am committed for crime, I am committed because of the fact that I am breaking the law of the Commonwealth, and it is the Commonwealth's business to take care of me and see that I am properly punished. If the State of Pennsylvania were to say that they accept prisoners as the wards of the State, and establish farms in districts,—five hundred, a thousand, or two thousand acres of cheap woodland,—establish in other words four or if necessary fewer or more as the occasion requires, prison farms in which all of these people beyond a certain minimum of commitment, say thirty days, would be sent, at which they would serve their sentences, the State of Pennsylvania could make the prisoners themselves support themselves and relieve the taxpayers of the counties and State, to say nothing of the humanity of the act. It has been shown as feasible elsewhere, it has been shown near home, and I should feel ashamed to head the Welfare Department if I were

not able to do the same for this State if given the opportunity by the lawmakers.

You see the solution of most of these problems is legislative, and you see where our steps are leading us. It is up to us to bring it home to the legislator, and in doing that we have got to put a practical program before these men. It is easy enough to say, "Let the State take over all the insane, all the prisoners, all the sick." But the State has to furnish the money, and they cannot do it in a day, in a year, or five years. But they can make a start in the program, and make it a program of ten years or if necessary a twenty-year program, and let it come gradually, so gradually that the State will never know it is doing it and never feel that the transition is taking place until the State realizes that it has occurred.

As to the mental defectives: we have, as you know well, in the State maybe twenty thousand, perhaps thirty thousand, no one knows how many. We have quite a considerable number of mental defective institutions in the State well run. But I want to call your attention to this, both as to the insane asylums and the mentally defective and delinquent institutions. This State has gone to work in a hodge-podge manner in building up our institutions, and has institutions of the same group under different classes of management, some very good, some indifferent, and some bad, and the result speaks for itself. You can pick the institution and lay out in your mind the type of management, and go to the institution and you will find it is bad. It is hopeless as far as reforming it is concerned, and why shouldn't the State of Pennsylvania say at the next session of the Legislature, that all institutions of a given group shall be managed on exactly the same basis? Why should the boards of managers of those institutions be autocrats? Where does the State come in, which pays the bill? Why shouldn't the State have some means of knowing what is going on in those institu-

tions and have some say as to what shall be done and how it shall be done? Why should men who do the things for their own locality, who make no effort to get into the general field and visualize it as a whole, for the State's interests, why should they visualize it and run it on the basis of the interests of the local community? Why shouldn't the State, through its Welfare Department, say, "The Welfare Department shall have the veto power over the appointments of the managers and superintendents of those institutions"? Why shouldn't it go further and say that it has the power to walk in and say, "If you have empty beds and cannot fill them, we will fill them for you"?

That brings me to the point that that actually exists in institutions in this State. I personally was in one institution for the feeble-minded and found eighteen vacant beds with a waiting list of six or seven hundred children. We sent to that institution a request for the admission of two. The word came back in the ordinary, official, polite letter, that they could not take them in, that they were already on the waiting list, that they happened to be in a class for which the institution did not have any vacant beds, and yet, so far as I know to-day, those eighteen beds remain vacant. Why shouldn't the State step in and say, "We are going to control this in the interest of the State of Pennsylvania. These are our institutions. We own them, we paid for them, and we are going to conduct them through some central body that we can hold responsible for the conduct of the whole." There is one of your problems, there is the solution; and again you come to legislative action.

Take your children. Let me say one word more as regards mental defectives. The schools, I will not say are filled with them, although it was on the tip of my tongue, but the schools have only too many of them. The Educational Department is beginning to realize it and has begun to move in the direction of establishing clinics in which the diagnosis can be

made as to mental deficiency, and in consultation with Dr. Finnegan, the head of the Educational Department, we have arranged that that in the future will be taken care of. In the Mental Health Department one of our prime objects will be to establish clinics radiating from every insane hospital in the State, sending out 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6,—a multiple number of clinics, into every hospital zone in the various communities, once a week, once a month, or every two months, to hold a public clinic. It is my intention to go into the hospitals and ask for accommodations for them, accommodations and facilities for the running of those clinics, the use of their pathological laboratories and so forth, in order that the communities may have the benefit of that diagnosis and the advice of the highly paid experts that the State is paying who are in charge of these magnificent institutions. When I say magnificent institions as applied to the insane asylums, I mean just what I say. No State has better. We are not so lacking in facilities. We are lacking in common sense management and the utilization of what we have. That is our principal want in Pennsylvania. We have an abundance, an over abundance for instance, of institutions for normal children, but they are so tied up in the bequests of the charitable people who established them with rules and regulations, limiting them as to the numbers and types they shall admit, that the money is there lying idle and accumulating without any possibility of utilizing it as probably the donors, were they alive, would wish it should be utilized. The mentally deficient are the ones for whom we have not enough institutions. For instance, we have no epileptic institution in the State of Pennsylvania, a public one. There is one at Oakburne, a private institution, which is the only purely epileptic institution I have been able to put my fingers on as yet. I believe there is one other one that we have not yet gotten trace of.

Concerning the children,—and this is a subject which largely interests those of your court—that is a matter which we are dealing with every day. The child is a child, but the child is going to become an adult, either a man or a woman. Let me give you a story as an instance of what I mean. I was discussing the matter officially with the Commissioner of Education, in connection with a question of putting people's infirmities on record. We came down to the discussion of a single, concrete instance. There is a man in New York State, one of the most successful business men in his town; a man so sharp and shrewd that when his men struck in his factory, and put him in the position that he would either have to close the doors or yield to them, and yielding meant ruin, he immediately went off to another section of the State, built another factory and said, "Now, you will work, or your work will go to the other factory." They went to work, and he ran both factories. He plays one against the other, and they are two most successful factories. A man is not mentally deficient who has wit enough to play the game of life in that way; and yet that man as a boy was for two years in the hands of a doctor, because of the fact that he had been pronounced a mental defective, and the record stood against him. The point is that a record ought never to be made unless there is absolute certainty, and even then sometimes as I found in my hospital work, it was just as well to cover it up a bit. In your probation work, in your courts, what occurs? I am not speaking so much of Philadelphia and the Municipal Court as I am of the other courts all over the State. A child is brought before that court, has a hearing and gets a record. There has been no investigation whatever. No one knows what the condition of that child is. No one knows whether that youngster was absolutely driven to do what he did. There has been no study of the child, there has been no study whatever of the environment of that child, there has been no study of the truth of the story

that is brought to the court. But the record is made and it stands, and it stands forever. That isn't common sense. It isn't fair, it isn't decent. If you have your social service department in your court, that record should be made by the social service worker primarily. In other words, the diagnosis should be made of that child, its surroundings, its conditions, its impulses, and in fifty to sixty per cent. of the cases that child ought never come before the court.

Perhaps I am reasoning or thinking along the line that would not be in conformity with law, but I believe that if I were a judge, I could so manipulate that law as to prevent anything of that kind happening. Why should the child have come before the court if the child is innocent? Or even if the child is guilty of a small offense? Probably those who have brought it there, every one connected with the case, from the judge down, are a thousand times more guilty than that poor little kid. They weren't caught, or somebody didn't think at that particular time that what they did was quite bad enough to call for punishment. Somebody had it in for this one, somebody has been after him, somebody has wanted to get rid of him for some reason or other and he is victimized. Why? For our mistakes, for our poor thinking, for our wrong thinking. Let our probation work begin before the court acts, and let there be a way that with proper supervision, with proper responsibility to the court, the social service department may dispose of that case, with the knowledge of the judge but without the formality of the hearing and the record.

But what interest has the State in this matter? The State has got to support that individual if he goes before the court and is condemned and committed, we will say, to Huntingdon. There is an enormous expense for that child for many years. If that child goes to Sleighton Farms, it is the same thing, and if the child goes to Glen Mills it is the same thing. It is always an expense to the State,

and if the Probation Department is properly used, then a great deal of the shortage of room in the State of Pennsylvania disappears and the problem can be solved. Through the use of the parole system in the insane institutions, in the feeble-minded institutions, an enormous number of beds can be made available for those who are dangerous to the community, by ridding the institutions of those who may be put back into the community safely, both young and old. I have been in institutions of feeble-mindedness where I found old ladies far beyond the possibility of sex offense, sitting there knitting, comfortably and contentedly, who would do exactly the same thing at their homes or in the home of some friend, if some one had wit enough to provide them a way of getting out of the institution, and thus leave the bed free for a girl who is a potential mother of another defective in the community. It is simply lack of co-ordination, lack of vision, lack of common sense, and certainly what we are doing is not business sense. The parole system should be enormously increased in use in every type of institution in the State; but the parole being widely utilized, there should follow as a matter of fact the follow-up, and that we do not have much of. We certainly do not have enough of it. In these institutions which had and have four or five hundred people on parole, I asked, "What is your follow-up system? What do you do?" They have to admit, although trying to explain it, that they haven't got any worth the name. They send them back into the community with no watchfulness at all, no care, no overlooking. Often the courts are at fault.

I am at present investigating, because I suspected I would find what I am finding, that if a man is sentenced to jail and fined, nobody ever attempts to collect that fine. It is neglected to such an extent as to appear that the law maybe is being broken. A report came in yesterday from one jail in which fifty-six of the prisoners had gone out on

parole or had finished their sentence in that situation, and the comment of the jailer was, "It is rare that they are ever made to serve an extra sentence for not paying the fine." If the courts do not see that their orders are carried out, and if some underling can deliberately violate the law and release a prisoner properly and duly convicted without court process or legal process, isn't there room for improvement? Shouldn't some one look into it?

These are some of the problems. I could go on and talk to you indefinitely, but these are some of the problems we are facing; this is what we are finding out. The methods I have suggested are methods that suggest themselves to us as methods of relief and of cure. It comes to be a question, then, of whether we can get the proper authority or whether we cannot. I have no dream in my mind that we will get all of it at the coming session of the Legislature, but we are going after it and are going to get part of it, even if it be a small part; and when we get part, if the legislator thinks he is putting us off with only part, he is mistaken, because we are going to hang on to his coat tails, and keep on hanging to them until we get the next part, and we will keep on until we get it all eventually.

We are working at Harrisburg with a compact, organized body of skilled workmen. You can't do this work with amateurs. You can't advise people in the way to go if they know more than you know. If you are not familiar with the facts, you can't advise people intelligently as to what they may do, and therefore we want skilled workers in every department. Whenever a position is to be filled, the first thing I ask is, "Get me the individual who knows most about that in the United States, if we have the money to pay him." I want fewer employes, and I prefer to spend the money at my disposal in getting the proper people who are fit, than many who are not, and I will save the State of Pennsylvania money by so doing. At any rate I can't spend more than I have had appropriated for

the use of the department. As I say, we are working with a small, compact body. We are exposing these things as they really exist, pointing out how they can be best met, and coming to you in your locality and saying to you, "It is your business to do this. You are organized for it, you have the confidence of your community, and here is the problem. Solve it for yourselves. If you need any aid, we will send some one to help you and do all we can, and we will gather in aid from other directions."

We are organizing in each county of the State a county welfare board. That board will be made up as follows: One of the County Commissioners, elected by themselves; one of the Poor Board, elected by themselves; one of the Mothers' Assistance Fund Trustees, elected by themselves; the County Superintendent of Schools, the County Health Officer; a Chairman, picked by the Commonwealth Committee, a creature of my own office in Harrisburg; and five other citizens in that community picked at large from a list recommended by the Welfare Council of that county. That Council will be organized at the same time that the Welfare Board is organized. They will send a list of potential names to the Commonwealth Committee and from that list we will pick the five best in our judgment to go on, making a committee of eleven. Now you have a home-rule made body, a body of local people. The Council that picked the five representatives will be made up of two workers from every legitimate welfare working body in the county plus anybody else in the county whom the county people think would be a valuable person on the Council. There, you see, you have home rule. You have the interested, active workers, you have those interested in this type of work. We are going to pick the Chairman ourselves, because too many chairmen I have been acquainted with in my life have been chairmen in name only. We are going to have our fingers on the motive power. We want to know

that we have a real engine and a real engineer, and the rest we will trust to the local people.

A problem comes from Dr. Finnegan's department in regard to mental health, we will say as illustrated in the school children. The health department or labor department, or both, have a problem involving mental health also. We have problems involving mental health, or a mental clinic in that community. Why should the State send four different people to that community to deal with the situation? Why shouldn't that work be brought together in a concrete way under one head, and the problem put as a single problem to a local properly co-ordinated welfare body? And so, ladies and gentlemen, here is *your* problem that we all want to help you solve. Now get together and solve it, and come to us for any aid you want. The object is to get rid of this multiple interference, to get as near to simplicity and efficiency as it is possible to get, and it is only in this way that we believe we can do it.

This in a way is what we want to accomplish. This is the way we are going about it. Whether we will succeed or not, time alone will tell.

Judge Brown: I knew you would hear something this afternoon from the Director of the Department of Welfare. I had apprehensions, when the Governor was endeavoring to pass that bill, as to the success of that department, but when he appointed Dr. Baldy, although I knew he gave a lot of trouble to Dr. Baldy, and that he would get a lot of criticism, yet I knew that he understood his subject and he would not be deterred from accomplishing what he had in his mind. There is no man in Pennsylvania that knows the social conditions so well as Dr. Baldy, by reason of his years of experience.

I want to say to Dr. Baldy, with reference to one of his suggestions, that in this particular court, with which many of you are associated in the human phases of its work, we find through our sta-

tistical department, considering children and those charged with being incorrigible between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, that a little over 70% of those cases are adjusted without the child or individual ever having to face a judge. The home life is adjusted by the probation officer. The child is adjusted, the father and mother are made to see the viewpoint of the alleged incorrigible boy or girl, and the boy or girl is made to see the parent's viewpoint. The disagreements between husbands and wives are adjusted in over 70% of cases, Doctor Baldy, *without those people ever coming into the presence of a judge.*

I want to thank Dr. Baldy for you and for myself for his illuminating discussion of the great problem that he has to meet. His task is a most onerous one. Nobody appreciates it so much as I do. He took over a department of welfare that has supervision over all the hospitals and many boards composed of estimable men and women who volunteered their services but who were not performing those services, leaving it to others who were employed for the purpose. He incurred a great deal of criticism, but he has the courage to take it and keep his stand in spite of it. He is going to do a marvelous piece of work if God permits him to live long enough to accomplish it. But whatever happens, some one else will come along and gather the fruits of his work in establishing this wonderful Department of Public Welfare of Pennsylvania.

I thank you, Dr. Baldy, for coming here.

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